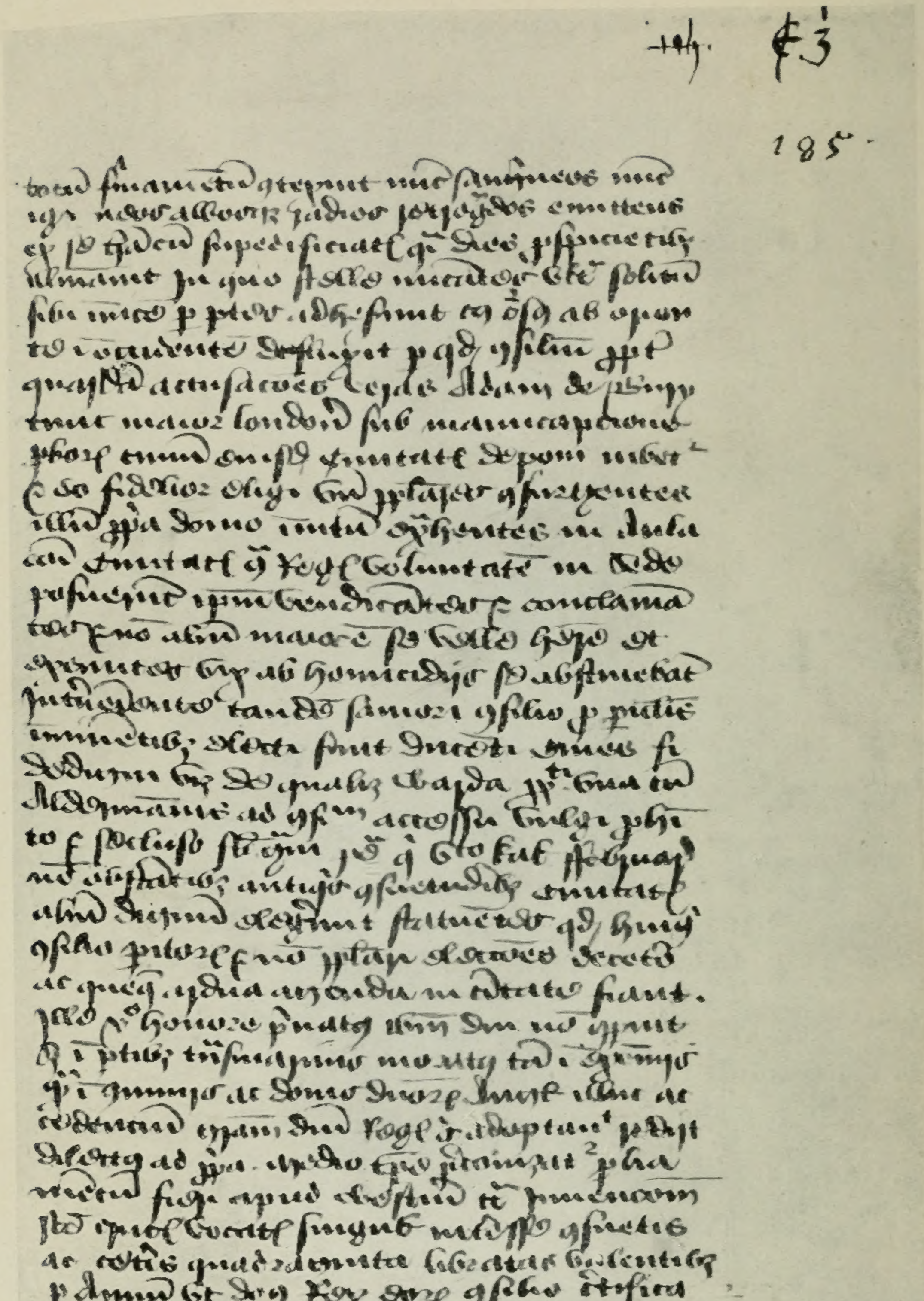
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Cotton MS. Cleopatra A. XVI., f. 187.

CHRONICA
JOHANNIS DE READING
ET
ANONYMI CANTUARIENSIS

1346—1367

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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Professor of Ancient and Mediæval History

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FACSIMILES.

PREFACE.

THE two short chronicles which form the nucleus of the present volume cannot claim to be more than a very modest addition to the materials available for the history of Edward III's reign. All the more important chronicles of the middle ages in England have been printed, the great body of workers on original evidence are now busily engaged in harvesting the richer crop of national and local records, and the few who linger in the old field must be content to glean the little that their predecessors have overlooked. Nevertheless, the success which has attended the researches of Mr. Kingsford and others shows that this field is not yet entirely cleared.

I venture to hope that the Westminster and Canterbury chronicles, which now for the first time appear in print, may not be thought unworthy of publication. Both are the work of writers contemporary with the events which they relate and, with the exception of the passages in their early pages which are distinguished by the use of a smaller type, neither seems to have borrowed from other chronicles. They are not, indeed, new discoveries, but they have never before been examined with much care. It is only in recent years that the identity of the author of the Westminster chronicle has been established, while there is strong reason for believing that the ascription of the Canterbury annals to Stephen Birchington is erroneous. This ascription stands or falls with the attribution of the Vitae archiepiscoporum Cantuariensium in the same MS., which Henry Wharton published under Birchington's name, and, on more than one ground, this seems unjustified. Reading's chronicle has often been consulted, and its importance as one of the sources of the St. Albans chronicle of Thomas Walsingham and of the continuation of the English Brut

has, in recent times, been recognised; but the full extent of the indebtedness of later compilers to it, and the number and interest of the passages which they ignored have not hitherto been understood. As for the Canterbury chronicle, there is no evidence, so far as I know, that it has attracted the attention of any historian since Wharton's time, though his transcript of it has been in the British Museum for more than a century and a half. Its inferiority to Reading's chronicle in the interest attaching to a source of other chronicles—for it was apparently unknown to compilers like Walsingham—is therefore, to some extent, compensated by the greater novelty of its matter.

In the Introduction an opinion is expressed that the Canterbury writer compares favourably with Reading as a historian. This judgment, on further reflection, seems to need some qualification. It is true that Reading is inferior in minute accuracy of detail and displays prejudices and superstitions from which his contemporary appears to be free. But the greater accuracy of the Canterbury annalist is chiefly shown in the narration of events which had in part come under his own eyes, and his freedom from passion and credulity may be merely the result of the narrower scope and more colourless character of his work. It is a slighter, more ill-digested and less interesting performance. If its author had had the opportunities which Reading enjoyed at Westminster, he might indeed have used them to better purpose, but it would be rash to infer this from the annals which he has left.

The extent and importance of the new information which these two chronicles furnish are explained fully in the Introduction (pp. 37–43, 69–70). Even when Reading has been forestalled by the prior publication of the works of compilers who copied from him, it is not a mere work of supererogation to print his actual words. Thus, for instance, we now learn not only that Reading is the original authority for the statement, accepted by bishop Stubbs, that Peter's pence was withheld from the pope by one of the parliaments

of Edward III, but that the date usually given for this alleged suspension of the payment is a year too late.

Perhaps the most important addition to our knowledge of the history of Edward III's reign, which these chronicles supply, consists in the indications preserved by Reading of renewed activity among England's foreign enemies during the Black Prince's intervention in Spanish affairs in 1366–7. Reading's details cannot always be trusted, but even his story of the Danish invasion of 1366 sounds less fantastic, when we find a panegyrist of the Black Prince and his achievements in Spain including Denmark among the states that had been humbled by the prince and his father (p. 185, note 7).

The text of both chronicles presents some difficulties. That of Reading has given most trouble because, save for a few short passages, the only collation possible is with the portions borrowed by later compilers, a resource which can obviously only be used with the greatest caution. A number of obscurities which baffled former transcribers have been cleared up, but in other cases no full solution of the difficulty has suggested itself. Additions necessary to complete defective sentences are enclosed in square brackets.

As the interest of the longer and more important of the two chronicles largely consists in its being one of the original sources of well-known chronicles which have long been printed in the Rolls series and the publications of the English Historical Society, it has seemed best to adopt the system of normalization which was used by their editors.

It only remains to thank those who have given me help of various kinds in the preparation of this edition. My obligations are greatest to Dr. Armitage Robinson, dean of Wells and formerly dean of Westminster, and to Mr. J. P. Gilson, director of the department of manuscripts in the British Museum. To the kindness of Dr. Armitage Robinson, who has done so much to make the materials for the history of Westminster abbey accessible, I am indebted for the few known facts in the life

of John of Reading, whom he first identified as the Johannes de R. of the author's preface to our first chronicle. Mr. Gilson has enabled me to trace the early history of the manuscript of Reading's chronicle after it came into Sir Robert Cotton's possession, and on several other points has allowed me to draw upon his knowledge of the treasures in his care. For other assistance generously rendered I have to express my gratitude to Mr. Geoffrey Baskerville of Keble College, Oxford, to my colleague and friend Professor Tout, to the Rev. C. Jenkins, Lambeth librarian, and to my old pupils and friends Mr. Arthur Jones of the Birkbeck College, London, and Mr. A. E. Prince of Balliol College, Oxford. Nor must I leave unrecorded my grateful appreciation of the care which Mr. H. M. McKechnie, the Secretary to the Publications Committee of the University of Manchester, has devoted to the proofs of this book during its passage through the press.

JAMES TAIT.

THE UNIVERSITY,
MANCHESTER,
9 *February*, 1914.

ADDENDA ET CORRIGENDA.

p. 35, l. 4. The verses are not by Reading. See below, p. 184, n. 20.

p. 40, l. 1. Cf. however the addendum to p. 171.

p. 87, l.36, patriotas; primotas, MS.; per metas, Lansdowne MS. 791.

p. 89, l. 27, litora; itinera, MS.

p. 113, l. 12, ut regi . . . regno. The sentence seems incomplete in the MS.

p. 125, n. 42, and note p. 266. It is possible that Balingham is merely a corruption of some name in the other lists.

p. 130, l. 7, quarum tenores; quorum, MS.

p. 157, l. 9, and note, p. 307. There was a naval fight between the Cypriotes and the Turks in November, 1364 (Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières* (1896), p. 276). Could this be the small nucleus of the great battle recorded by English chroniclers?

p. 164, l. 27, decimabunt; decimabant, MS.

p. 169, l. 9, and note, p. 332. On 24 April, 1367, Adam of Bury received a pardon, at the supplication of queen Philippa, of the king's suit for the death of William Haubergeoun, skinner, for all manner of insurrections, etc. . . . made by him in the city of London, and for all manner of frauds, etc., touching the exchange of the king's money in the said city (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1364-7, p. 391).

p. 171, l. 14, and note, p. 338. The 'Dacia decrescit' of the verses in Political Poems and Songs (below, p. 185, n. 7) lends support to the view that Reading's story of Danish hostility to England in 1366 is not without some foundation.

p. 172, l. 2, and note, p. 339. See also Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières,* p. 205, n. 5. But Jorga makes Warwick actually go to Venice (*op. cit.,* p. 254).

p. 172, l. 25, decedente; descendente, MS.

p. 185, l. 9, quit; quid, Pol. Poems.

p. 185, note 1, set. Further references to the MS. shows sit to be its reading.

p. 213, l. 3, illa; illo, MS.

p. 226, l. 16. The bracketed et is intrusive.

p. 302, l. 1. The view adopted in this note perhaps does not take sufficiently into account the effect of the rise of prices upon clerical salaries. See the remarks of M. Petit-Dutaillis in a study of the Peasants' Revolt appended to the French translation of Stubbs' *Constitutional History* (II, 867).

p. 304, l. 3. See also Jorga, *Philippe de Mézières,* p. 155.

p. 354, l. 4. If Petrus Gonys de Porry (p. 226) is to be identified with Gomez Perez de Porres, the latter cannot be the Master of Santiago who is included in the list of prisoners taken at Najera.

ERRATA.

p. 82,	l. 6.	*For* numerenter *read* numerentur.
p. 89,	l. 23.	*For* annot *read* anno.
p. 121,	l. 8.	*For* transienque *read* transiensque.
p. 152,	l. 8.	*For* oecisa *read* occisa.
p. 163,	l. 17.	*For* kulendas *read* kalendas.
„	l. 18.	„ „
p. 311,	l. 6.	*For* on *read* ou.
„	l. 8.	*For* Roet. *read* Rot.
p. 333,	l. 5.	*For* fifteen *read* ten.

INTRODUCTION.

I.—THE CHRONICLE OF JOHN OF READING.

1.—The Chronicle and the Flores Historiarum.

Although printed here for the first time and containing matter which has hitherto escaped the attention of historians, the chronicle of John of Reading, monk of Westminster, cannot lay claim to the interest of an unexpected find, such as Sir Edward Maunde Thompson had the good fortune to make in unearthing the St. Albans account of the Good Parliament, and Mr. Kingsford in his rediscovery of the lost English Life of Henry V. Both these works were concealed by wrong entries in catalogues, but the single surviving manuscript of Reading's chronicle, which came to the British Museum with Sir Robert Cotton's library, is correctly described in the Museum and the earlier Cottonian catalogues. This, or another manuscript not now extant, was used by Camden when compiling his Britannia, but there is no evidence to show that Reading was known to Stow or the other chronicle writers of the sixteenth century. Two modern transcripts of the Cottonian MS. are in the British Museum, one of which seems to have been made for bishop Stillingfleet (d. 1699). Richard Widmore used the MS. for his History of Westminster Abbey (1752). It does not appear, however, that Reading's chronicle attracted any particular attention until about 1846, and then only incidentally. Beginning in 1346 it forms

in the Cotton MS. the third and concluding portion of a continuous chronicle from 1299 to 1367, the early part of which down to 1325 is there attributed to Robert of Reading, also a monk of Westminster, while John of Reading in his brief preface ascribes the middle section to the pen of the well-known chronicler and canon of St. Paul's, Adam Murimuth. This latter ascription was rightly disputed by Mr. Thomas Hog in the preface to his edition of the Continuatio Chronicarum of Murimuth for the English Historical Society, where the early part of Reading's preface is quoted.[1]

The first scholar to make any considerable use of his chronicle was Mr. H. T. Riley, who, in 1863, while editing the Historia Anglicana attributed to Thomas Walsingham, discovered that "the Compiler of the Saint Albans Chronicle has been indebted at times to a Manuscript now in the Cottonian Collection, Cleopatra A. XVI; or the two writers must have borrowed from a common source."[2]

Mr. Riley notes in the margin of his edition most of the passages which are common to the Historia Anglicana and Reading's chronicle, but others he overlooks; and though he observes that with the close of 1364 the two chronicles become quite independent of each other, he offers no explanation of their sudden divergence after showing a close connexion for nearly twenty years. Several entries which occur in the St. Albans Chronicle 1328—1388—the text of which is followed closely by the compiler of the Historia Anglicana for a large part of the reign of Edward III—but which are omitted in the latter, can be found in Reading; a fact that has escaped the notice of Sir Edward Maunde Thompson,[3] the editor of the earlier compilation.

1. p. xvii. Hog's edition appeared in 1846; yet nearly half a century later Dr. Luard, after mentioning Robert of Reading's part, wrote: "the MS. afterwards contains the chronicle of Adam Murimuth" (*Flores Hist.* III. 106).

2. *Hist. Ang.* I. xxi (Rolls Series).

3. *Chronicon Angliae, 1328-1388* (Rolls Series, 1874).

A full account of the Cottonian manuscript was given by Sir T. Duffus Hardy in his Descriptive Catalogue,[1] and a collation of the earlier portion of the manuscript down to 1327 was made by Dr. H. R. Luard for the third volume of his edition of the Flores Historiarum, published in 1890. The passages relating to the affairs of Westminster Abbey were extracted some years ago by the late Rev. R. B. Rackham for Dr. J. Armitage Robinson, then Dean of Westminster, who incorporated an English version of several of them in an article on Simon Langham, Abbot of Westminster.[2]

Reading's work forms the concluding portion of a chronicle which was carried on at Westminster Abbey for just over a century. This Westminster chronicling received its first impulse, or at all events its original starting point, from the much greater school of historical writing at St. Albans, which in later and more degenerate days was glad to wipe out the obligation and to borrow largely from Reading in order to fill up a gap in its own series.

In the Chetham Library, Manchester, is still preserved the original manuscript chronicle[3] from the creation of the world, known as the Flores Historiarum, which was removed from St. Albans to Westminster in 1265, and continued from that year by various monks of its new home. Down to 1259 the chronicle is little more than an abridgment of the great work of Matthew Paris who, indeed, if certain notes and corrections in the margins of the Chetham MS. are, as has been thought, in his handwriting, probably supervised the execution of the work. The name of the compiler, who may be pretty confidently identified with the monk who brought the narrative up to date before it left St. Albans, is unfortunately not recorded; for the Matthew of Westminster to whom the Flores was long

1. *Descriptive Catalogue of materials relating to the early history of Great Britain and Ireland* (Rolls Series), III (1871), 384-5.
2. *Church Quarterly Review*, LXVI (1908), 346 sqq.
3. Chetham MS., 6712.

attributed never had any existence. Matthew Paris, on whose work its earlier portion was founded, became "Matthew monk of Westminster" when the St. Albans origin of the well-known Westminster chronicle was forgotten. At Westminster the St. Albans manuscript was continued anonymously, by various hands as seems probable,[1] from 1265 to the beginning of 1307. The last of these nameless writers laid down his pen abruptly while describing the preparations for the marriage of the Prince of Wales to Isabella of France. Some time elapsed before the narrative was resumed by Robert of Reading, who took it down to a short time before his death in 1325. Though his continuation starts with 1307, internal evidence shows that its first pages were not written before 1308 at the earliest. None of the many other manuscripts of the Flores, all of which are directly or indirectly derived from the Chetham manuscript, goes beyond February 1306-7, and the Flores is undoubtedly the chronicle "ending in 1305" which Adam Murimuth found at Westminster and used for the beginning of his Continuatio Chronicarum.[2] It is clear that if, as is probable, he used the Chetham manuscript itself, it must have been consulted by him before Robert of Reading began his continuation. The first edition of Murimuth's work did not, however, take its present shape until after 1325, and on comparing it with Reading's sequel to the Flores a probability is established that by that time Murimuth had renewed his acquaintance

1. The ascription of this portion of the *Flores* by Sir T. Hardy and Sir F. Madden to John Bever, otherwise called John of London, who was probably the author of the *Passio* of the Westminster monks charged with a robbery of the royal treasury in 1303, and who is sometimes identified with the author of the *Commendatio Lamentabilis* on Edward I, seems to be unjustified. (*Flores Hist.* (Rolls Series), I, pp. xxxi, xlii, III, 117).

2. Ed. Maunde Thompson (Rolls Series), pp. 3-4. Murimuth's error as to the terminal date of the Westminster chronicle illustrates the confusion caused by his perverse system of beginning his chronicular year at Michaelmas. The *Flores* writer who began the year at Lady-day, after the usual English fashion, included events of the early months of 1307 under 1306, and so Murimuth referred them to his year 1305, which extended from Michaelmas 1305 to Michaelmas 1306.

with the Chetham manuscript and made use of its latest continuation.[1]

Murimuth's chronicle, from 1325 onwards, was in its turn abbreviated, more lavishly but with ample acknowledgments, by the Westminster compilers, to provide a further continuation of the Flores. Historical writing at Westminster had now fallen on evil days. Robert of Reading's turgid and pretentious periods marked a lamentable declension from the easy and unaffected Latin style of his predecessors, but he wrote at first hand and took a strong, if prejudiced, interest in the political struggle of Edward II's reign. There was no one to fill his place, and in the Abbey chronicles the story of the next twenty years finds no more adequate treatment than is afforded by a meagre and at times very inaccurate compilation mainly from Murimuth and Avesbury, with occasional additions from other sources, and some notices of outstanding events in the domestic history of Westminster. Even this unsatisfactory narrative was compiled long after Robert of Reading's death. Its author used the final edition of Murimuth's chronicle which comes down to 1347, and he can hardly have had access to Robert of Avesbury's Mirabilia Gesta Edwardi Tertii before 1356, with which year it closes.

Dr. Armitage Robinson has expressed an opinion that at least the Westminster entries in this compilation are by John of Reading himself. These notices and, we may add, the denunciation of the strange fashions of male and female dress in the year 1344 certainly show a considerable likeness to similar passages in Reading's acknowledged work. The earlier part of this too continues to be largely based upon Avesbury's chronicle. Nor can it be said that Reading

1. Compare for instance the first notice of the charges against the Templars, *Flores* I, 143: Murim. p. 13, and the account of the death of the emperor Henry VII, *Flores* I, 150; Murim. p. 18. If Murimuth had not Reading before him, they must both have used a common source. Although his preface was written after his appointment to a canonry at St. Paul's in 1325 Murimuth does not acknowledge there his use of Reading or of any other source later than 1305.

reaches any standard of style or accuracy which forbids the assumption that he was the author or supervisor of the compilation covering the years 1325—1345. Its extraordinary errors, for instance, in the account of the accession of pope Clement VI, who is hopelessly confused with his predecessor and whose election is post-dated by many months, are hardly worse than Reading's ascription of the siege of Rennes by Henry of Lancaster to the year 1352 instead of 1356.

In spite of this *prima facie* support, Dr. Armitage Robinson's view presents serious difficulties. There is, in the first place, a well marked difference in style after 1346. The clear and unpretentious narrative of the preceding compilation is very unlike Reading's tortuous sentences.[1] Again, Reading in his preface not only lays no claim to the preceding compilation, but, as has been already mentioned, attributes it without qualification to Murimuth. On the supposition that he compiled it in whole or in part, it is surely strange that he should ignore the fact that fully a third of the compilation does not come from Murimuth at all. If, on the contrary, Reading had no hand in it, he may very well have adopted without question the attribution prefixed to it by the compiler. Robert of Reading closes his narrative with the slaying of Roger Belers (2 Feb. 1325), after which his successor who was clearly no admirer of his style has the following preface: "Sicque frater Robertus de Redinge, quondam monachus ecclesiae beati Petri Apostoli Westmonasterii, cronicarum, vitae quoque suae, finem conclusit. Et in praemissis (*sic*) magister Adam Murimoth, olim canonicus ecclesiae sancti Pauli Londoniarum, qui texuit ab anno regni regis Edwardi secundi post conquestum sexto usque ad annum regni regis Edwardi tertii filii ejusdem vicesimum, luculentius procedit."[2]

1. A comparison from this point of view of the denunciations of contemporary fashions in 1344 and 1365 (p. 88 and p. 167), so similar in matter, leaves a strong impression that they are the work of different hands.

2. *Flores Hist.*, III, 232.

It may perhaps be objected to this suggestion that it merely shifts the blame of misdescribing the contents of the compilation in question from John of Reading to an anonymous predecessor. But the case is quite different. The compiler had not the whole work before him as Reading had, he seems to have contemplated no more than an abbreviated copy of Murimuth and for twelve years he follows him closely, with comparatively unimportant additions from other sources. It was only when he came to 1338 that the greater conciseness of Avesbury proved so attractive that Murimuth was abandoned. Moreover it is quite possible that the compiler's first intention was only to carry his narrative to the accession of Edward III, where it ends in the Chetham manuscript of the Flores, and so complete Robert of Reading's history of the reign of Edward II. At all events its continuation from 1327 to 1345 is found only in Cotton MS. Cleopatra A. XVI, the original of which, for it is itself a fifteenth century transcript, was copied from the Chetham manuscript from 1299, where it begins (for no very obvious reason), down to 1327.

The closing of the Chetham manuscript by the Westminster compilers and the starting of a new one, beginning practically with the current century may perhaps be best explained as due to a fear that the former might become unwieldy. After the Chetham text ceased to be available the history of Edward III's reign down to the eve of the Crécy campaign was added, chiefly from Murimuth and Avesbury. At this point John of Reading took up the story and carried it on to 1367. Apparently nothing was done to continue it further; and when, later in the century, Westminster once more produced a historical writer, unfortunately anonymous, worthy to rank with his predecessors of the thirteenth century, he appended his chronicle of the years 1381 to 1394 to the continuation of the Polychronicon which John Malvern had brought down to the former year.

With this able writer John of Reading cannot challenge

comparison. He falls decidedly below the level even of his bombastic predecessor Robert of Reading. His chronicle possesses no literary and but moderate historical value. It must be confessed that the very humble estimate of his qualifications for the task with which he prefaces it is fully borne out by the performance. He is credulous, sometimes prejudiced, and often inaccurate. Yet it would have been a real misfortune had the single manuscript in which his work survives perished in the fire which made such havoc in the Cottonian library at Ashburnham House in 1731. In the realm of the blind the one-eyed man is king, and for the decade or so after Avesbury and Geoffrey le Baker end their chronicles in 1356 Reading's is the fullest contemporary account which is available. In these years the writing of history in England reached perhaps its lowest ebb before the fifteenth century. The Scalacronica of Thomas Gray is a much more capable piece of work than Reading's, but its range is narrower and it only comes down to 1362. Two other chroniclers besides Reading cover the whole decade down to 1367; but the monk of Malmesbury who composed this portion of the Eulogium Historiarum, though strictly contemporary, is briefer, and not much if at all more intelligent than the monk of Westminster, while the anonymous Canterbury chronicle, which is printed below, is meagre for these years, except in two or three cases where it has special information. The fact that these three chronicles all end in 1367 is apparently no more than a coincidence, for they are quite independent of one another.

The dearth of materials for the years 1356—1367, and for the preceding decade the neglect of English affairs by Avesbury, together with the inaccessibility of Baker's chronicle, led to a much more general use of Reading by later compilers than his intrinsic merit would justify. The English Brut, the most widely popular chronicle of the later Middle Ages, is for over twenty years (1345—1367) little more than a roughly abbreviated translation of such

portions of Reading's narrative as it was thought would suffice for English readers. Reading was also drawn upon by the continuator of the Latin chronicle which had the largest circulation in this age, the Polychronicon of Ranulf Higden. The compiler of the continuation of Adam Murimuth's chronicle is considerably indebted to him. Indirectly through this continuation, and still more by direct borrowing, Reading is the original source of no small part of the history of the middle period of the reign of Edward III contained in the St. Albans compilations, the oldest form of which now extant was printed by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson as the Chronicon Angliae, 1328—1388, while the most familiar is the Historia Anglicana attributed to Thomas Walsingham. When revising and abbreviating this compilation for his Ypodigma Neustriae, Walsingham inserted some further additions from Reading, the most important of which are to be found in his description of the Crécy campaign.

None of these debts were acknowledged. As a good part of Reading's most interesting matter was thus silently incorporated, and given a more readable shape in well-known chronicles, it is not surprising that he should have fallen into an obscurity, which may perhaps have caused the loss of some manuscripts. It was not until about 1863 that the close relation of his chronicle to the Historia Anglicana was pointed out by Mr. Riley, the indebtedness of the Brut chronicle to Reading was first detected by Dr. F. W. D. Brie in 1905, and in the case of the other compilations mentioned above the connexion has, so far as we are aware, not been noticed at all hitherto. Dr. Armitage Robinson first drew attention to evidence that the Cottonian MS. Cleopatra A. XVI (or its original) was consulted, as we might expect, by John Flete for his history of Westminster Abbey compiled in the second quarter of the fifteenth century.[1] The passage to which Dr. Robinson

1. Flete, *Hist. of Westm. Abbey*, ed. J. Armitage Robinson (1909), p. 125.

refers was taken from that middle section of the manuscript which he is probably wrong in attributing to John of Reading, but Flete almost certainly took from Reading himself the date he gives for Edward III's gift of the head of St. Benedict to the Abbey, which is shown by official records to be inexact.[1] As so many of the authorities who are usually quoted for events between 1346 and 1367 are largely dependent upon Reading's chronicle, it seems desirable that its text should be made accessible. Only thus can the precise extent and faithfulness of their borrowings be ascertained. Moreover, in order to estimate the degree of weight to be attached to any statement derived from Reading, we must have the context before us and get some general idea of his trustworthiness as a historical reporter. Riley's indications, in the margin of the Historia Anglicana, of the passages taken from this source serve merely as a useful warning that we are dealing with a second-hand authority, and in the case of the other printed chronicles which make use of Reading the student is not even put upon his guard.

2.—John of Reading.

Little is known of the author of the chronicle here printed, beyond what he tells us himself and the characteristics which can be inferred from his work. In his prefatory note he does not write his name in full, describing himself as "John de R. monk of Westminster," but the only monks there with these initials at the date he wrote were John of Reading and a younger namesake who cannot be the chronicler. Whether the chronicler was actually born at Reading, or only descended from a native of that town, and what, if any, was his relationship to his predecessor Robert of Reading, are questions to which we have no means of finding answers. He notices the deaths of the abbots of Reading and Abingdon from the plague in

1. See below p. 260.

1361 (p. 150), the burial at Abingdon of two daughters of Edward III who were also victims of the pestilence in that year, and the great damage done to Reading Abbey by a high wind in the early part of December 1365, when the Devil appeared in horrid shape (p. 167); but these are the only passages which could be regarded as betraying special knowledge of the locality from which he took his name. It is barely possible, however, that he was influenced in recording the wedding of John of Gaunt in 1359 by the fact that the marriage was solemnized at Reading (p. 131). Reading first appears in the list of monks of Westminster in the chamberlain's roll of 1339–40.[1] He sang his first mass in 1341–2.[2] In 1349 he was "custos ordinis,"[3] and one of the seven monks who were entrusted with the election of a new abbot on the death of Simon Bircheston.[4] On 11 August in that year of pestilence he with other monks obtained Papal license to choose a confessor with power to give plenary absolution in the hour of death.[5] From 1350 to 1353 he was infirmarer of the abbey. Six years later he helped to draw up an inventory of the Regalia in the abbey, which is dated 17 July, 1359.[6] He appears in the chamberlain's rolls until 1364-5 (after which there is a long gap in the series), and apparently died in 1368-9.[7] It is true that the John of Reading whose death is recorded under this year might be a younger namesake and possible relative who sang his first mass in 1367-8, but the latter is much more likely to have been the John of Reading who died in 1375–6. The abrupt ending of the chronicle in 1367 strongly supports this conclusion. Reading seems to have begun it, in its present shape at least, not more than three years before his death, for under 1351 he implies that William of

1. I owe this and the following references to the Westminster records to the kindness of Dr. Armitage Robinson, the Dean of Wells.
2. *Queen Eleanor's Manor Roll, hoc anno.*
3. *Munimenta*, 27692.
4. *Cal. Papal Letters*, III, 339.
5. *Cal. Papal Letters*, III, 327,
6. Flete, *Hist. of Westm. Abbey*, ed. Armitage Robinson, p. 19.
7. *Infirmarer's Roll, hoc anno.*

Edington, bishop of Winchester, was dead at the time of writing,[1] and Edington died in October 1366. There is nothing indeed to show that the first five years of the chronicle were not composed earlier than this, but it does not appear likely. No event of later date than 1367 is referred to, and the notice of Langham's appointment as archbishop in 1366 was clearly written before his elevation to the cardinalate in September 1368.

In a list of renovators and benefactors of chapels in the abbey church[2] Reading is said to have had a screen (*clausura*) made for the altar of the Holy Trinity at a cost of £20.

Without rising to the highest offices Reading attained an important position in his convent and must have had good opportunities of acquiring information for his chronicle. In his preface he speaks very humbly of his spiritual and intellectual qualities. He describes himself as a monk "in name and not in perfect conversation," and confesses that he is "lacking in letters and ability, relying more on common talk than on his own study or the letters of great men, nowhere citing ancient writings, because of the prolixity of the deeds of the present." "With weary labour and in rude form," the preface concludes, "he has composed his work."

His lively interest in all that concerned the monastery to which he belonged is everywhere apparent. A Westminster chronicler was expected to notice the election of a new abbot and to attempt a short appreciation of the head of the house who had passed away. But Reading does not consider it beneath the dignity of history to mention such minor incidents as prior Chertsey's success in securing papal confirmation of the abbey's long disputed grant of

1. Below p. 113.

2. Stanley, *Memorials*, ed. 3, p. 640, "from a Chartulary at Westminster in the possession of Sir Charles G. Young, Garter King of Arms." This chartulary is not now to be traced (Robinson and James, *MSS. of Westminster Abbey*, p. 101). The same list in a later form is found in Liber Niger Quaternus, f. 92 b.

the churches of Sawbridgworth and Kelvedon, and Edward III's gifts of cherished relics, the head of St. Benedict and the vestments in which St. Peter had celebrated mass.[1] He shows violent animus against all whose interests clash in any way with those of his house and order. The hatred of a "possessioner" for the mendicants and their doctrine of evangelical poverty becomes more inflamed when the Franciscans of London "seduce" queen Isabella to be buried in their new church, instead of in the abbey (p. 128). There is some reason to believe that the further taunt that their church was not yet dedicated is a mere invention of wounded spite. In recording the burning of certain friars at Avignon for heresy in 1355, Reading registers his opinion that, if the mendicants in general escape being burnt with material fire for spreading their erroneous views, they will certainly, unless they repent, descend into eternal fire (p. 119). Inconsistency is added to their offences. The Black Death (says Reading) had a bad effect upon the monks by increasing their possessions but a fatal one upon the friars, who now indulged in superfluous luxuries. Darker vices are hinted at (p. 110). The *possessionati* are blamed for wrecking archbishop Fitz Ralph's campaign against the mendicants at Avignon, by withholding the money supplies indispensable to success in that venal city (p. 131). Reading's Westminster prejudices are also excited by the claim of the neighbouring St. James's hospital to independence of the abbey, as well as by the creation of an exempt ecclesiastical jurisdiction within the bounds of the palace in favour of the canons of the chapel of St. Stephen. Though very much an admirer of bishop Edington's conduct of public affairs, the chronicler cannot notice his death without condemning him for the share he had had as treasurer and chancellor in subtracting the obedience of the hospital and chapel from "the chief of the Apostles,

1. See below pp. 116, 120, 153

blessed Peter of Westminster" (p. 178). He records with much satisfaction that a sub-dean of the palace and two canons of St. Stephen's, whose consciences would not allow them to take advantage of its "furtive and uncanonical exemption," begged humbly to be buried in the abbey and St. Margaret's churchyard (p. 168).

A minor neighbourly animus, perhaps partly insular, may be detected in the mention of an allegation that the brethren of the alien hospital of St. Mary Rouncivall (Roncesvalles) by Charing Cross, after securing a confirmation of their possessions and rebuilding the hospital, were convicted of forging a bull of indulgences, and thus blackened their reputation and diminished the flow of alms and offerings into their coffers (p. 170). Even the king, in spite of his gifts to the abbey, does not escape the pillory, if his measures run counter to its interests. When the location of the Staple at Westminster, proving inconvenient to the merchants, was relaxed in favour of London, Reading charges the king and the magnates with breaking a solemn oath (p. 153).

Disliking interference from any quarter in the affairs of his house, he expresses approval of the action of the General Chapter of the English Benedictines in 1363 in confining itself to enjoining prayers for the living and dead, instead of enacting penal injunctions with regard to discipline (p. 160).

Reading is a fairly impartial critic of his abbots. He reprobates the lavishness of Simon Bircheston (d. 1349) and the fraud of his kinsmen and friends, which burdened the abbey with a load of debt.[1] For the masterful Langham he seems to have felt more respect than affection. Full justice is done to his good work for the monastery, and on his promotion to the primacy his rapid rise in the church is surveyed with patriotic complacency, but he is twitted with showing special honour to the cardinals of

1. Below p. 108. Flete (*op. cit*, p. 131) says that Langham paid off debts incurred by his predecessor to the amount of 2200 marks.

Albano and St. Vitale during their visit to England in 1357, in order to get a name and fatter benefices (p. 127). For Litlington, the greatest benefactor the abbey ever had, who succeeded Langham in 1362, Reading has nothing but praise (pp. 103, 109).

Reading's political views are not obtruded, nor did the period over which his chronicle extends, being for the most part a time of war, afford him much opportunity in this respect. Bishop Edington, however, is credited, while treasurer (1345–56), with protecting the people against the extortionate demands of the crown (p. 113). It must be admitted that this eulogy loses some of its force from the awkward way in which it is introduced, as a sort of apology for Edington's share in the reduction of the standard of the coinage in 1351.

Reading, not altogether without excuse, takes rather a gloomy view of the social state of England when he wrote. The time is out of joint and he has no confidence in the efficacy of parliamentary legislation to put it right. "Little good or none they did" is his comment on the statutes of Labourers.[1] He declares too that the attempt to curb extravagance in dress and food by the statute of Apparel and Diet of 1363 was frustrated, with other laws of the same parliament: "novissimus error pejor priore."[2] He could not be expected of course to show any sympathy with the labourers who were insisting on higher wages. "They worked less," he says, "and their work was worse done."

In his somewhat incoherent denunciations of the extreme relaxation of morals (pp. 109, 150, 168), and the mad imitation of bizarre and indecorous foreign fashions in dress (p. 167), he sometimes writes as if these evils were results of the Black Death, while at other times he describes the pestilence, along with high winds, bad seasons and other misfortunes, as a divine punishment for the levity and

1. Below p. 113,
2. Below p. 158.

immorality of the nation. Men have lost all respect for their elders. Their avarice, contempt and malice demand retribution (p. 110).

In the field of ecclesiastical politics Reading's views may seem, at first sight, to present some inconsistency. He is fully alive to the venality and simony prevalent in the papal court at Avignon, and he bitterly resents the interference of the cardinals who visited England in 1357 with the province of the native clergy and the disposal of English benefices (p. 127). On the other hand he strongly disapproves of the anti-papal measures taken in the parliament of 1365 and in particular condemns the statute of Provisors as injurious to the best interests of the catholic church (p. 163). The contradiction, however, is only apparent. Like other contemporary ecclesiastical writers, Reading feels keenly the danger of the use made by the crown of episcopal appointments to reward administrative servants, whose merits as officials did not necessarily make them good bishops; he sympathises with the working clergy who are kept out of the posts in which their learning and devotion would be invaluable. The only hope of keeping this practice in check lay in the right of provision claimed by the popes, who, when royal pressure was not too great, preferred fit and literate candidates. After more than one grumble at the promotion of keepers of the privy seal and the like to be bishops at the instance of the king or the Black Prince, the chronicler breaks out violently on hearing of William of Wykeham's appointment to the rich bishopric of Winchester: "To which see the pope, impelled by golden letters and entreaties, and more influenced by fear than affection, provided a certain servant of the lord king, William Wikham, passing over more suitable persons already elected. Alas! the mammon of iniquity raises the unworthy to be prelates. The Saviour of old founded the Church upon the solid rock, but now its columns, to wit many of its prelates, are set up not by virtuous life or learning, but by gold and silver."

The chronicler is even more easily moved to ire by any interference with ecclesiastical use and wont. When archbishop Islip reduces the number of saints days on which work is forbidden, he is compared to Pharaoh who oppressed the Hebrews with continual work and to William Rufus (*sic*) who destroyed churches to make the New Forest. Islip is also rebuked for the limitation of chaplains' salaries, "which forced many to rob and steal."

It must be confessed that Reading was rather credulous, even for that age. His pages are besprinkled with marvels and portents, eclipses and northern lights, blood-coloured crosses in the sky, airy visions of phantom armies locked in combat, second crops of roses, duels of eagles and battles of sparrows. The chronicler evidently construed these prodigies as "instruments of fear and warning," but does not always make clear to us what they portended. His fondness for the supernatural brings the evil one himself upon the stage. He is seen near Reading in 1365, and there is a wild story of a London carpenter who made a compact with the devil in order to do better work than his rivals, and in due season was claimed by the other party to the agreement under circumstances sufficiently grim (p. 176). After this it may seem to savour of anti-climax to mention that it was Reading who made himself responsible for the statement, which found its way into print more than two centuries ago, that children born after the first visitation of the Black Death in 1348-9 cut fewer molar teeth than those who came into the world before the great pestilence.

3.—The Manuscript.

The only manuscript of Reading's chronicle (excluding modern copies), which is known to be extant, is contained in Cotton MS. Cleopatra A. XVI, ff. 154b—195, in the British Museum. This is a small quarto 6¾ inches in height, and 4¾ inches in width. As originally paged the manuscript comprises 195 folios, but a re-numbering in

1868 extended them to 197 by the inclusion of a contents leaf at the beginning. This latter pagination is noted in the margin of the text as printed.

In the existing volume two manuscripts, which were once separate, have been bound up together. That which comes first, filling ff. 1—68 b of the book, is a miscellaneous volume in which the principal item is the Dialogus de Scaccario, for the greater part of the text of which a fifteenth century compiler has incorporated a manuscript of the latter half of the thirteenth.

The second manuscript included in the Cottonian volume begins with f. 69. It contains the Westminster chronicle, the origin of which has already been described, and falls into three sections:—

1. f. 69. The Flores Historiarum from 1299 to 1307, with Robert of Reading's continuation to 1325, beginning: "Anno MCCXCIX° celebravit rex Nativitatem Domini Westmonasterii, qui videns Angliam plurimum corrumpi falsa moneta quae crokard et pollard dicebatur," etc. (*Flor. Hist.*, ed. Luard, iii, 106.) The whole of this section is printed in Luard's edition of the Flores from the Chetham manuscript, collated with Cotton Cleopatra A. XVI.

2. f. 142 b. A continuation of the above item to 1345, based in the main upon the chronicles of Murimuth and Avesbury. A short portion of this, concluding with the acceptance of Edward III as king, where the Chetham MS. breaks off, is printed by Luard. Some extracts from the remainder are given in an appendix to this introduction.[1]

3. f. 154 b. John of Reading's chronicle from 1346 to 1367.

The entire chronicle (1299—1367) is in one handwriting, minute and of a cursive type, but well formed and legible. It was described by Mr. Riley and by Sir T. D. Hardy as a hand of the fourteenth century, but Mr. J. P. Gilson, the present director of the department of manuscripts in the

1. Appendix A, below p. 77.

British Museum, is of opinion that the manuscript was written in the fifteenth century, probably towards the middle of the century. The carelessness of a transcriber, or the difficulty of the manuscript he was copying, may perhaps account for the occasional omission of words necessary to the sense, and for other slips in Reading's part of the chronicle which are less likely to have occurred in his autograph.

In point of fact, a collation of the manuscript with the passages borrowed *verbatim* by the St. Albans compiler, or translated by the continuator of the English Brut chronicle, leaves no doubt that these writers had before them a better text of Reading than that of Cotton Cleopatra A. XVI. The Brut (p. 309) and the Chronicon Angliae (p. 40) agree that the sum exacted from the duke of Burgundy by the treaty of Guillon in 1359 was 70,000 florins, not 700,000 as in the text below (p. 134), and that Edward heard of the sack of Winchelsea on 17 March where the text has 18th. In the statute of 1353 for the removal of obstructions from rivers the mysterious *vectigalium* of the Cotton MS. (p. 117) is corrected to *vecturarum* from the Chronicon Angliae (p. 30), and the abbreviated copy of the treaty of Brétigny is given more accurately by the St. Albans compilers, as are also the names of the hostages. Other instances of the same kind will be found recorded in the footnotes. It is possible that some apparent additions of the St. Albans compiler to Reading's text such as the (incorrect) date of the first Treaty of London (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 38), the penalty for the violation of Islip's ordinance limiting the observance of saints days (*ib.*, p. 52) and the limitation of purveyance by the statute of 1362 to certain households (*ib.*), merely represent passages omitted by the transcribers of Reading's chronicle.

The manuscript is on vellum in single columns of from twenty-nine to thirty-four lines to the page. It had not yet been bound up with the Dialogus volume when it came into the possession of Sir Robert Cotton. That this was

the case can be shown both from internal and external evidence. MS. Cleopatra A. XVI is entered with its present contents in the first printed catalogue of the Cottonian Library published by Dr. Thomas Smith in 1696, and it appears also in the earliest known manuscript catalogue which gives the press-marks by emperors, Brit. Mus. Add. MS. 36682, the date of which is prior to 1654. But Mr. Gilson has called my attention to the fact that in a catalogue drawn up in Cotton's lifetime, and now included in Harley MS. 6018, there is proof that the union of the two manuscripts in one volume was subsequent to the first draft of this catalogue which was made in 1621. The Dialogus MS. does not appear at all, and the Westminster chronicle is entered alone on f. 56 as No. 95 in the following form :—

> 95. 1. Annales ab anno 28 E(dw) 1 ad. ann. E(dw) 3. 43 a Roberto de Reddinge ad annum 1325 ab Adamo Merimouth ad 1345 a Johanne de R. monacho West. ad finem libri.

A different hand has, however, changed the 1 which indicates that the manuscript contained only one item into 2 and has added above in the narrow space left between No. 94 and No. 95 :—

> 1. De necessariis observantiis Scaccarii and many other tracts in this book to be inserted into this callender.

In the margin to the right of this new entry is drawn a hand pointing outwards. We have here apparently a direction that the minor items in the Dialogus volume, for which no room could be found on this page, should be detailed further on, perhaps on the *verso* of the same leaf. But this was not done.

Comparison with other corrections and marginal notes makes it almost certain that the additional entry is in Sir Robert Cotton's own hand. This conclusion is supported by evidence, contained in the volume itself, which seems to

show that its two portions were put together by Cotton's order. The direction to the binder on f. 1: "Beat this book well, bind it strong and faire" is, it would appear, in his hand. The great thickness of the volume in proportion to its other dimensions makes the first part of the instruction intelligible, and that the binding included the whole volume as it now stands is shown (1) by the register numbers on the quires, which are in Cotton's hand throughout, and (2) by the insertion, also apparently in his hand, of a table of contents of the Westminster chronicle on the last page (f. 68 b) of the Dialogus manuscript. The chronicle has traces of a separate pagination in a hand of the fifteenth century or the early part of the sixteenth, but most of it seems to have been removed in the binding. A few folios have been paged in pencil in a later hand.[1] It is possible that we can recover the original emperor press-mark of the chronicle when it formed a separate volume. On the *recto* (f. 197) of the second of two fly-leaves at the end there is entered the press-mark Vitellius D. 19. Cotton was very erratic in his treatment of fly-leaves, but this clearly belonged to the Westminster chronicle, for it has on the *verso* notes, in part illegible, in a mediæval hand which include a clear reference to a passage in the chronicle, and in the same hand a list of Edward III's children with the years and places of their birth, which was doubtless also drawn from it.[2] There are too on the *recto* above the press-mark some pencilled

1. Since this was written I have found independent proof of the separate existence of the Dialogus manuscript down to 1621 at least, and an explanation of its absence from the catalogue of that year. It appears several times in Cotton's record of the books he lent so freely to his friends, which is now bound up with the catalogue. He lent the book, described as "bound old in 8," to the well-known antiquary and deputy chamberlain of the exchequer, Arthur Agard (d. 1615), from whom it was borrowed by Sir Fulk Greville, perhaps when he became chancellor of the exchequer in Oct. 1614. It was still in Greville's hands in May 1617, but in April 1621, three months after his resignation of the chancellorship, Cotton notes that it had been borrowed by Selden.

2. From the discoloured and worn state of this side of the leaf it would appear to have been one of the covers of the book. The first flyleaf shows no such signs of wear.

references to passages in its text in the same later hand in which, as stated above, some of its folios are paged. Vitellius D. 19 was certainly missing when the first extant catalogue in which the emperor press-marks were used (Harl. 36682) was drawn up before 1654. In a list of books wanting, made early in 1656, which is found in the same manuscript, is the entry (f. 1 b):—

> "Vit. D. 19: noe contents in the [last] Catalogue: noted alsoe over the place[1] as wanting."

It is tempting to suggest that the Westminster chronicle is the missing volume, and that Sir Thomas Cotton (Sir Robert's son), or his librarian, was ignorant that it had been bound up with the Dialogus manuscript, and had received with it a different press-mark. A possible alternative is that the second fly-leaf of the chronicle had been temporarily used as a cover to some other manuscript with the press-mark Vitellius D. 19, and afterwards restored to its proper position. This explanation might seem to gain some support from the fact that the press-mark is written on the page reversed, but this may have happened by an accidental reversing of the manuscript, and the alternative is not otherwise very probable. A third suggestion would be that Vitellius D. 19 was the original press-mark of the whole volume which at some date before 1654 received its present press-mark of Cleopatra A. XVI; but this hypothesis too presents difficulties. On the whole then, our first supposition that the Westminster chronicle was classed as Vitellius D. 19 before it was combined with the Dialogus volume seems open to least objection. In any case—except perhaps on the third hypothesis—it is hard to avoid the conclusion that the emperor press-marks, of the use of which there has hitherto been no clear instance before 1638, were already employed before Sir Robert Cotton's death in 1631.

In all probability the manuscript of the Westminster

1. *I.e.*, on the shelves.

chronicle passed into Cotton's possession, as others certainly did, from the collection of Francis Thynne, Lancaster Herald, who died in 1608. For Camden in his Britannia quotes, as from an old manuscript belonging to Thynne, a passage relating to the count of Hainault's alleged claim to the earldom of Cambridge, which undoubtedly came from Reading's chronicle.[1] As the book was in Cotton's library in 1621, two years before Camden's death, it was not part of his bequest to Sir Robert which included the manuscripts of Thynne's successor as Lancaster Herald, Nicholas Charles, purchased by him in 1613. Further back than Thynne's ownership it does not seem possible to trace the history of the manuscript of our chronicle.

It is surprising, as already remarked, that a chronicle so much used by other chroniclers as Reading's was should have survived in a single manuscript only. Besides the Cotton MS. we have nothing but a few abbreviated passages from 1361-2 and 1366 entered upon the *verso* of the first folio of a psalter formerly belonging to the Augustinian Priory of Gisburn in Yorkshire, and now in the Bodleian Library (MS. Laud Lat. 5). The *recto* of the same folio has a note of the admission of the earl of Northumberland and others to the fraternity of the priory on 4th March 1427, with a pedigree of the Percy family down to the reign of Henry IV. The Reading extracts can hardly therefore have been made before that reign. They consist almost entirely of portents, apparently intended to lead up to a notice of the birth and baptism of Richard II, taken from some other source, the tenor of which is strongly suggestive of a date later than 1399. The readings of the Laud MS., which was brought to my notice by Mr. G. Baskerville of Keble College, Oxford, are recorded in the textual notes when they differ, in any marked way, from those of the Cotton MS.

1. Camden, *Britannia*, ed. 1607, p. 363 below pp. 170, 334.

There are two modern copies of the Westminster chronicle in the British Museum, one in Harley MS. 685 and the other in Lansdowne MS. 791. The former was apparently made for Edward Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester (d. 1699), whose historical manuscripts were bought by Robert Harley. Lansdowne MS. 791 is a quarto volume of transcripts in the hand of Richard Widmore, the historian of Westminster abbey. His copy of the Westminster chronicle in Cotton MS., Cleopatra A. XVI, forms the first item (ff. 1—109 b). Both transcripts are clearly written and usually accurate, but some difficult contractions are left unextended, and Harley 685, which I have collated throughout with the original, occasionally drops a short sentence.

4.—Sources used by Reading.

An investigation of the sources used by Reading in his chronicle is considerably simplified by the discovery already made, that in its present shape it must have been composed between October 1366 and 1369—the latest date to which the death of its author can be referred. During the whole period which it covers Reading was resident at Westminster, enjoying all the opportunities of a contemporary writer in an exceptionally favourable centre for obtaining information. But, though he or his fellow-monks may have kept some record of events as they occurred, it was not until the end of his life that Reading attempted a continuous history of the preceding twenty years, and for the first decade at any rate he drew largely from earlier chronicles. For the French War down to the beginning of 1356 he is almost entirely dependent upon Robert of Avesbury's Mirabilia Gesta Edwardi III. His own additions, which are few and of little interest—except perhaps the details of the surrender of Calais (p. 105)—will be found indicated by larger type in the text, and are discussed in the historical notes. Reading's abridgment, in which he uses the intercalated letters as well as Aves-

bury's connecting narrative, is not done with much care. This is well seen in the double account of the surrender of Calais to Edward III. When noticing the opening of the siege in September 1346, Avesbury remarks that the town fell on 3 August in the next year, "prout continetur infra." Reading at this point adds details of the surrender taken from the later passage referred to by his author, perhaps thinking that he need say no more about the siege. If this was so, he had probably overlooked Avesbury's relation of Philip of Valois' futile attempt to relieve the hard-pressed town in the last days of July 1347. When Reading came to this episode he found himself driven to repeat the story of the surrender in almost the same words, though with some fresh facts from another source which we cannot trace. A few cases of divergence from Avesbury's text, as when the number of French esquires slain at Mauron in 1352 is said to have been 100 where his source has 500, may possibly be due to the carelessness of a transcriber rather than that of Reading himself. But he cannot be acquitted of having read Avesbury's account of the recapture of Berwick from the Scots in January 1356, with so little attention as to date it on the 13th of that month, which was the day of Edward's arrival, while the surrender took place (as Avesbury states clearly enough) on the following day. The slip by which Edward Balliol is called John is also rather characteristic.

The close agreement of Reading's figures for those killed and taken prisoners on the French side at Poitiers, for which he refers to a "verus compotus," with those in the lists found appended to Avesbury's chronicle in all the existing manuscripts, might at first sight suggest that the copy used at Westminster contained this appendix. But the same figures could have been obtained from Lord Burghersh's letter to Sir John Montagu,[1] and possibly from other sources. Reading's list of names contains some divergences from the Avesbury list; and this last is separated by several blank pages from the end of Avesbury's

1. Chandos Herald, ed. Michel, p. 337.

text in the oldest manuscript, which is written in a hand of the beginning of the fifteenth century.

Reading's account of the campaign of Poitiers does not seem to be derived from any single source known to us, though it has occasional points of correspondence with Sir Thomas Gray's Scalacronica [1] and the Black Prince's letters to the bishop of Worcester [2] and the corporation of London.[3]

Besides Avesbury the only chronicle used by Reading which can be traced is the Polychronicon or Universal History of Ranulf Higden, a monk of St. Werburgh's abbey, Chester. Its wide popularity in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries is attested by the great number of manuscripts which have survived, by the continuations which were attached to it, and by the use made of it by many other chroniclers. Higden seems to have closed his work originally with the accession of Edward III, but in most manuscripts the narrative is carried on with no more than verbal variations down to the outbreak of the Black Death in 1348. After Higden's death, which is said to have taken place in 1364, doubts apparently arose as to whether the entire section 1327–48 came from his own hand. But as a whole it is clearly older than the further continuations extending to 1376 at least, which are found appended to it in the great majority of the manuscripts. The use made of it by Reading and by the author of the Eulogium Historiarum, both of whom ended their chronicles in or about 1367, shows that copies of the Polychronicon brought down to 1348 at least were in the libraries of Westminster and Malmesbury abbeys, certainly within three years of Higden's death, and probably well within his lifetime. Probability becomes certainty when the internal evidence is examined, for of the three slightly varying types in which

1. Ed. J. Stevenson, Maitland Club; a gap from 1339 to 1356 is partly supplied by extracts in Leland's *Collectanea* (ed. Hearne) I, 556 sqq.

2. *Archaeologia*, I, No. xliii, pp. 212-214..

3. Nicolas, *Chronicle of London* (1827), p. 204; Riley, *Memorials of London*, pp. 285-288.

this early continuation (1327—1348) occurs, and which the editors of the Polychronicon distinguish as A, B and E, the last two were already in existence. The compiler of the Eulogium followed a manuscript of the B type while Reading evidently had before him a manuscript of the E family, which Professors Babington and Lumby adopted as the basis of their printed text.[1]

From this source, in all probability, Reading took his statement of the duration of the truce of Calais concluded in 1347 and the date of the king's return to England (p. 105). It was certainly his authority for the story of Edward's curious remonstrance with the Virgin on the bad passages which he always had when returning to England from France (*ibid.*). In an earlier entry in the Polychronicon[2] they are attributed to the black art of necromancers in the service of Philip of Valois. The king's *querimonia* to Our Lady in 1347 is followed in the section of the Polychronicon, which is under consideration, by the passage with which it ends, a notice of the heavy rains and of the outbreak of plague in 1348. This too is copied by Reading, though with more change in wording.

Reading's chronicle also stands in some close relation with the ordinary continuation of the Polychronicon from 1352 to 1376, which is found attached to manuscripts of the B type. The comparatively greater detail of this continuation in some of the earlier entries which it has in common with Reading, while the reverse afterwards obtains, might suggest that the continuation is really composite, incorporating an older and shorter sequel which Reading may have had before him.

Some colour is given to this hypothesis by the fact that Trevisa's translation of the Polychronicon, completed as late as 1387, closes with the treaty of Brétigny in 1360; but it seems to break down on closer examination. The greater

1. In the Rolls Series.
2. VIII, 338.

particularity of the Polychronicon continuator in common entries does not extend beyond 1355. Moreover the E type of Higden's work which Reading used is not known to have ever had this, or indeed any, continuation, while the compiler of the Eulogium, whose manuscript belonged to the type to which it was usually appended, betrays no acquaintance with it. The conclusion seems to be that the whole of this continuation was composed after 1367, and that, unless we are to suppose an unknown source common to both, it was largely derived from Reading. Detailed illustrations of the compiler's indebtedness to his chronicle will be given later.

Higden and Avesbury may not have been the only predecessors from whom Reading himself borrowed without acknowledgment, though the others cannot be identified. He had some other source than Avesbury for the battle of Neville's Cross, for the comparison of the camp before Calais with London which recalls Froissart's well-known description, and for the circumstances of humiliation under which the defenders delivered the keys of the town to king Edward. It is just possible indeed that such additional details as these might have been derived from eye-witnesses who visited Westminster. The rather full account of the campaign of 1359–60, which for Reading is unusually accurate in its dates, seems less likely to have been taken down from oral narration, and is probably based upon a written relation.

Reading's occasional agreement with the Scalacronica of Thomas Gray, which ends in 1362, is insufficient to prove it to be one of his authorities. The most striking of these correspondences may be due to the use of a common source. The Westminster writer's mistake in placing the promotion of Henry of Lancaster to a dukedom and of Ralph Stafford to an earldom in 1353 instead of 1351 (p. 118) is not of a kind so unusual with him that one would naturally look elsewhere for an explanation. Curiously enough, however, the two creations are noted by

Gray in much the same terms after events which certainly belong to 1353. Reading's disclaimer of the study of original sources must not be taken too strictly. The most conspicuous exception to his rule is the inclusion of a fairly long summary of the treaty of Brétigny, in the preparation of which he would appear to have used the French as well as the Latin version. Living in Westminster Abbey, the meeting-place of Parliament and the repository of its records, Reading naturally shows an interest in legislation the general futility of which he deplores, and his summaries seem at times to rest upon an actual consultation of the statute. This may be suspected in the account of the legislation of 1351 (though it is misplaced), the statute of Labourers and the acts for the regulation of cloth measurements (where the reference to an earlier statute is reproduced) and the removal of river obstructions, as also in the summary of the Purveyance statute of 1362 and the statute of Food and Apparel in the following year. The domestic archives of his house were of course open to him. He seems unable to date them correctly, but he had no doubt seen the royal charter of 1347 exempting the abbey from penalties incurred when prisoners escaped from its keeping (p. 103), the papal mandate for the translation of the relics of St. Thomas of Cantilupe at Hereford in 1349 (p. 112), and Clement VI's confirmation in 1351 of John XXII's grant of the churches of Sawbridgworth and Kelvedon to Westminster Abbey (p. 116).

Unlike some of his elder contemporaries, Reading did not enshrine in his text the 'letters of great men' from the stricken fields of France, which were the most authentic war news of the time. According to his own statement indeed be made comparatively little use of them, but there is reason to believe that his description of the campaign of Poitiers is in part drawn from such letters. Similar despatches, not now known to be extant, may have been among his sources for the operations of 1359-60. He certainly had access to the official or quasi-official lists of those who were killed

and taken prisoners, which are sometimes incorporated in these letters though they may also have been circulated independently. The one case in which he acknowledges an obligation is his reference to the "verus compotus" of the slain and captured at Poitiers. His list for Najera (p. 183) was also in the hands of the anonymous Canterbury chronicler (p. 225).

A more difficult problem presents itself when we seek to ascertain the nature and extent of the materials that Reading may have had before him, when he composed his chronicle between 1366 and 1369, for those sections of it which were not derived from such sources as have just been described. It is hardly credible that he had no written note taken at or about the time when the events he records happened. In his preface he gives us to understand that "common talk" was his chief source of information, but common talk which is not soon transferred to paper is apt after some years to leave but a blurred impression. Some reliance upon memory would indeed help to explain the rather startling chronological distortions and perverted historical connexions of Reading's not very ample additions to Avesbury in the earlier half of his work. For the first twelve years he can hardly have had contemporary collections of his own. The compiler of the preceding section of the Westminster chronicle (1325—1346), whose narrative he continued, did not complete his task before 1356, where Avesbury, whom he used, ends, perhaps not before that chronicler's death two or three years later. Reading may therefore have found in the abbey very slight and possibly confused material for a decade or so after 1346. It seems significant that from 1359 onwards the misdating of important events by whole years entirely ceases. Before 1359 there are nine or ten such cases of misdating, of varying degrees of flagrance. Other events, however, in these early years, not recorded by Avesbury, are dated with an accuracy which points to the existence of a contemporary note accessible to Reading. This we should expect in the case of matters

which were of special interest to the Westminster monks. It is not in the least likely that Reading was able to put down from memory the exact day of the birth of Edward III's daughter Margaret in 1346 or of his son Thomas of Woodstock in 1355. Reference to the earlier portion of the Westminster chronicle shows that the monks made a point of recording the births of the children of their royal neighbours. Another incident which we are not surprised to find dated with considerable accuracy is the duel at Westminster between the Bastard of France and John Visconti in October 1350. Reading's exactitude in these cases makes it all the more difficult to account for the chronological error by which the king's gift to the abbey of so prized a relic as the head of St. Benedict is antedated by three years (p. 260). Edward's later gift of the mass-vestments of St. Peter is, it may be noted, quite correctly referred to 1362, as is shown by the Issue Rolls of that year (p. 299). Though Reading had probably the means of fixing the date of any event which concerned the abbey, even if it happened before he became its historiographer, his mistake with regard to the present of St. Benedict's head suggests that he may sometimes have relied upon his memory to save himself trouble—with unfortunate results. The temptation to take such short cuts would be greater where he found no record, or only an imperfect one, in the abbey and this may account for his putting queen Isabella's death a year too early (p. 128), and the resignation of bishop Heath of Rochester three years too late.

In the latter case he knew that Heath ceased to be bishop in 1352 and was succeeded by prior Sheppey; he also knew that Heath had resigned the see, but he rashly concluded that the resignation caused the vacancy. As a matter of fact it was made in 1349, but it was not accepted, and Heath remained bishop until his death.

It is harder to account for the post-dating by two years of the parliament of February 1351, which passed the first statute of Labourers, and the difficulty is the greater

because Reading shows rather minute knowledge of the legislative work of this session. In a note on the passage a suggestion is ventured that he may have been influenced by his erroneous impression that the demand for higher wages, which the statute of Labourers sought to repress, was the result of a rise of prices caused by the coinage changes of 1351 (p. 249). Perhaps, however, the error was merely consequential on the misdating of the investiture of Henry of Lancaster with a dukedom in this parliament. There is a certain amount of evidence, as already mentioned, that the creation of the duchy of Lancaster may have been found by Reading incorrectly dated in some compilation which he used for the early part of his chronicle. Otherwise one would have been inclined to see the source of the whole mistake in Reading's inexplicable association of Lancaster's siege of Rennes, which really belongs to 1356-7, with Bentley's victory at Mauron in 1352. At this date, according to our chronicler, Henry was still only earl of Derby. After this everything hangs together. The parliament of 1353 was the earliest in which Derby could have been raised to a dukedom, and the duke's return from his mission to Avignon in 1354 is the occasion of his molestation by Otto of Brunswick, issuing in their abortive duel at Paris (p. 119). Thus Reading is led into a further anachronism, for the incident in question occurred in 1352 on Henry's return from Prussia, and he went to Paris for the duel in the December of that year.

The story of the siege of Rennes with the strange episode of the citizens' attempt, when surrender became imminent, to smuggle their valuables out of the town in a coffin as a dead abbess, sounds very like the inaccurate anecdote of the war that Reading may have picked up in "common talk," if indeed he did not take it from some poetical source. Some of his chronological mistakes are more intelligible and on the whole more excusable. He puts the recall of the staple to England a year late, under the erroneous impression that it must have been a consequence of the

final breakdown of the negotiations with France in 1354, while the abortive agreement to which M. Delachenal has given the name of First Treaty of London (1358) is antedated, because Reading overlooked the fact that the cardinals who came to England in 1357 did not complete the negotiations until May in the next year.

After 1359, with one exception of little moment,[1] these glaring anachronisms disappear. There are still occasional mistakes in dates, but they are mistakes of weeks or months not of years. The very considerable number of exact dates, the careful and generally accurate notes of the duration of parliaments, and the precision often shown in the relation of comparatively obscure matters, all make it impossible to believe that Reading had not some pretty full record of these years before him when he began to write his chronicle in the late sixties. His sources or informants cannot be traced, but it is clear that the regular intercourse between England and the papal court gave him opportunities of learning the course of events at Avignon which he did not wholly neglect. The value of the information which he supplies on this and other topics will be considered most conveniently in a separate section of this introduction and in the notes appended to the text.

5.—Literary characteristics and historical value of the Chronicle.

Reading's humble estimate of his powers as a historian was not a mere affectation. In disclaiming rivalry with chroniclers who made a close study of historical sources, or with the Murimuths and Avesburys who incorporated original documents in their narratives, he does himself no injustice. Nor is his self-depreciation excessive when he pleads guilty to an uncouth and laboured style. After all possible allowances have been made for omissions and awkward collocations perpetrated by ignorant or careless

1. The date of the death of an abbot of Malmesbury (p. 163 and note).

scribes, the author's want of skill and taste remains indisputable. His long and involved sentences packed with subordinate members are often hard to construe, even when an important word has not dropped out, and still harder, as the dean of Wells feelingly complains, to translate into readable English. What Reading was capable of in the way of parenthesis will best be understood if the reader turns to the passage [1] in which a sentence describing the new coinage of 1351 has its back broken by the interjection of a character of bishop Edington. The fondness of the inexperienced writer for long words where short ones would serve, as well as his feeble attempts to vary the phrase of his sources, is illustrated by the substitution of "portatilia" for "bona" in Avesbury's account of Edward III's dismissal of the citizens of Calais with all their goods after the surrender of the town. On the whole, however, Reading's faults of style are less marked while he has Avesbury to follow than in later years, when he was called upon to digest contemporary information and rumours, with only his own lights to guide him. The "prolixity of current events," which he makes his excuse for not quoting "old writings," is not always excluded from his narrative, and he develops an extraordinary taste for alliteration. Of this he has already given a foretaste when the destruction of the bridges over the Loire by John II in 1356, to head off the Black Prince, reminds him of the similar precaution taken by Philip VI on the Seine ten years before:

> Ne fugae patris proelia patris obviarent
> Turbaeque nati jacula nati propinquarent.

This, however, shows artistic restraint compared with the peroration of the extraordinary invective which Edward III is represented as delivering to the Scottish ambassadors in 1367: "Propterea praevei (*sic*) propriis properate popularibus propugnacula pugnatum prospera praeparare . . . Pudet propriam personam praedonibus patriis proeliatum propin-

1. Below p. 113.

quare; partes proditorias praedis potenter privabit puberculus praesens, penultima proles progeniei mei" (p. 180). Less barbaric, but halting and obscure, is the paean in rhymed couplets with which Reading winds up his account of the Black Prince's victory at Najera. The most lucid lines celebrate the wide-spread achievements of the king and his five sons:

Rex fore jocundus tantis natis quit abundus,
Nam totus mundus per eos sex fit tremebundus.
Anglia laetatur, Vasconia jam modulatur;
Francia tristatur, Hispannia justificatur;
Scotia languescit, Hibernia tota quiescit.

We do not need the author's confession to discover that he was no great reader. His quotations are limited to a couple of verses from Isaiah and one from the Gospel of St. John. Only twice does he mention any event in English history that happened before his own time, and in neither case very accurately. The ascription of the origin of Peter's pence to Ine, king of Wessex (the beginning of whose reign he characteristically misdates) seems to be taken, as we should expect, from the chronicle of his house the Flores Historiarum, of which he himself was the last continuator (p. 323). This was certainly not his authority for the statement that William Rufus' death was a divine punishment for his destruction of churches to make the New Forest (p. 154). The confusion of Rufus with his father was probably due to a sub-conscious reflection that the lesson he was seeking to enforce (*apropos* of archbishop Islip's restriction of the number of holidays), that the hand of God falls upon the sacrilegious, would be more firmly driven home if the penalty descended upon the actual perpetrator of the sacrilege.

Reading's faults of style are not compensated by any special merit in matter or handling. He is confused and inaccurate in the earlier part of his work, where his materials, apart from Avesbury, were scanty, and when

they become more abundant, he shows no power of discrimination between the important and the unimportant, no capacity to appreciate the real connexion of events. That the prejudices of his house and order should colour his views of things in which they are involved, is perhaps inevitable, but he is not quite free from a suspicion of colouring the facts to support his prepossessions. At least we have no authority but his own for the oath which the king (he says) broke by the removal of the staple from Westminster, or for the sworn promise to amend his ways, which the Black Prince is said to have extorted from the excommunicate Peter the Cruel before taking up his cause. In short, it would be absurd to claim for Reading a high place among historians, even in an age which saw a rapid decline in the quality of historical writing. It may even be doubted whether the dean of Wells does not do him something more than justice when he allows him at least the merit of being an intelligent observer.

Reading, however, is a fully contemporary authority, and a contemporary authority, where such are few, has a solid value. Had not his chronicle been so mercilessly pillaged by later compilers, its publication would have made no inconsiderable addition to our materials for the history of the reign of Edward III. As things are, its chief value to the student of the reign must lie in making accessible the original version, sometimes fuller and more correct, of much that has long ago passed into the common stock of historians. It will not be without its use if it clears up a certain number of difficulties in the derived sources, accounts for many of their errors in chronology, and supplies a clue, hitherto missing, to the problems of their relations to one another.

At the same time, Reading offers something more than a complete and authentic text of what has so far been known only at second hand. A fair amount of his matter was rejected or overlooked by the later writers who made such free use of his chronicle. Few and insignificant at first,

these gleanings become gradually more abundant from 1359 onwards, and for the last three years covered by the chronicle—1365-7—all but one of the compilers who use it desert its guidance entirely in favour of other sources. The English Brut chronicle continues its succinct version to the end but, as before, it omits a great deal, including some passages of much interest for the historian of Edward III's reign. Even the matter which it does reproduce is not well known, for the Brut was first printed as late as 1908, and in a series to which the historical student does not naturally turn for his authorities. It is true that the Brut was used by Barnes in his History of Edward III published in 1688, but his excerpts from that source do not seem to have been critically considered by later workers.

Among the more notable of the passages in Reading which appear for the first time in the present volume are the following: the speech said to have been made by Edward III in 1359 when selecting the place for his burial in Westminster Abbey (p. 133); an enumeration of some victims of the plague of 1361 omitted by the later compilers (p. 150); a character of abbot Langham (p. 151); the partial removal of the staple from Westminster in 1362 (p. 153); the open resistance to the enforcement of the statute of food and apparel in 1363 (p. 158); the quarrel between bishop Lynn of Chichester and the earl of Arundel, with the pope's abortive attempt to translate Lynn to London and Sudbury to Worcester (p. 159); disturbances in London in 1364, apparently caused by the grant of trade monopolies to the gilds (pp. 161, 317); list of the prisoners taken in the battle of Auray (p. 161); proceedings consequent on the slaying (Dec. 1363) of John of Coupland, the captor of David Bruce at the battle of Neville's Cross (p. 162); attempt in 1365 to limit the number of persons leaving the realm (p. 164); amendment of the statute of 1361 for the punishment of corrupt jurors (p. 164); description of the state visit of the emperor Charles IV to Avignon on 23 May 1365 (p. 165); denunciation of extravagant and indecorous fashions

in dress (p. 167); dispute between Westminster Abbey and the canons of St. Stephen's as to rights of burial (p. 168); removal of Adam of Bury from the mayoralty of London by royal order on 28 Jan. 1366, and renewed disturbances in the city (p. 169); summons to the parliament of May 1366, of persons having forty librates of land with a view to enquiring how many men could be raised for the defence of the realm from lands held by scutage (p. 170); royal charter to the Hospital of St. Mary Rouncivall (p. 170); promotion of Enguerrand de Couci, the king's son-in-law, to be earl of Bedford (p. 170); alleged claim of Albert, duke of Bavaria, to the earldom of Cambridge (p. 170); embassy to the papal curia with refusal of the demand for payment of the arrears of king John's tribute (p. 171); revival, on John of Gaunt's behalf, of the Lancastrian claim through Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III, to certain cities and lands in Provence (pp. 171, 186); return of the earl of Warwick from the crusade in Lithuania and departure of the earl of Hereford for the same quarter (p. 172); delay in John of Gaunt's departure for the war in Spain owing to a dispute with Edward Despenser (p. 175); names of the bishops considered for the archbishopric of Canterbury on the death of Islip (p. 176); bishop Edington's responsibility for the resistance of St. James's Hospital and the canons of St. Stephen's to the jurisdiction of Westminster abbey (p. 178); visit of foreign embassies to London in the early months of 1367, the king threatens the Scots with war, alleged preparations for a Scottish invasion of England; raiding in Ulster, hostile attitude of Charles V (pp. 179 sqq.); list of those slain and taken prisoners in the battle of Najera (p. 183); invasion of Aquitaine by the duke of Anjou and Henry of Trastamara (p. 185); return of Urban V to Rome (p. 186).

Much of this new matter is of no great importance to the historian, but in two points at least Reading makes a real addition to our knowledge. He throws much-needed light upon the obscure municipal history of London between 1363

and 1366, and also on the effects of the Black Prince's Spanish expedition of 1367 upon England's relations with France and Scotland.

The causes of the disturbances in London in August 1364 have hitherto been far from clear. Reading's reference, brief as it is, seems to give us the right clue.[1] The charters which, he says, aroused popular resentment, can have been no others than those granted to the gilds, in pursuance of a rash ordinance of 1363 which had to be repealed in 1365. In order to stop engrossing of commodities by great merchants who dealt in a variety of wares, the expedient was adopted of confining each trade to a particular gild. An immediate rise of prices impressed upon the mass of the citizens the danger of granting such monopolies. Reading again gives an interesting account of the effects (though unfortunately not of the cause) of the king's removal of Adam of Bury from the mayoralty in January 1366, the bare fact of which was until now known.

It is only in our chronicle too that we get a direct statement that the French and Scots thought of resuming hostilities with England during the absence of the Black Prince and John of Gaunt in Spain. Some of its details need confirmation, but record evidence proves that there was at least an alarm of invasion in February 1367, and that the military forces of the country were held in readiness to repel it. In this connection we may note that Reading is the sole authority for an attempt, said to have been made in the previous year, to ascertain what number of men the holders of land by military service could provide for the defence of the realm. The alleged Scottish enlistment of Danish support recalls Reading's strange story of a Danish naval descent upon the east coast in July 1366, which through Barnes' reproduction of the Brut version of it has long been accessible to students, though with no noticeable results. The political situation in Scandinavia at the time

1. He tells us also that royal guards were placed in the city.

hardly favours the idea that in either instance (supposing the facts to be correct) we have to do with a definite act of hostility on the part of Waldemar III himself.

Among matters of less general interest, which perhaps deserve a separate mention, the abortive attempt of pope Urban V to translate bishop Sudbury from London to Worcester in order to make a vacancy for William Lynne, bishop of Chichester, seems to be nowhere else recorded. Reading too is the sole authority for the statement that John of Gaunt on his return to Aquitaine from the Spanish campaign contemplated an actual effort to make good the claim on the county of Provence, derived from Henry III's queen, of which he had procured a royal confirmation before leaving England. The value of this Westminster chronicle as a contemporary source both for the internal history of the house and for its somewhat uneasy relations with neighbouring foundations, has already been illustrated. In a small way too the chronicle may be of some use to the economic historian, for its author is fond of recording abnormal weather, and occasionally notes its effect upon agriculture and prices. In the summer of 1362, for instance, there were heavy rains "which greatly interfered with agricultural work." The previous summer is said to have been prolonged into October, when there was a second flowering of roses, and birds re-nested. The spring of 1363 was windy and rainy, but both fruit and corn crops were abundant. On the last day of November in this year began a famous frost which, Reading tells us, lasted until the 19 March 1364, and "much interrupted agricultural labour and manual trades." A hailstorm in the following May killed many animals, "yet it was a good season for corn and wine though there was only a moderate crop of fruit and hay."

Reading shows a special interest also in the prevalence of robbery and other local disorder after the conclusion of the war with France in 1360, without, however, seeming to connect the one with the other. He notes a mysterious

outbreak of brigandage among the magnates about Advent in the year of the conclusion of peace, which was only arrested by special precautions for the safe guarding of the towns. Three years later many churches in various parts of the country were broken into and despoiled, and the king of Cyprus was robbed on his way from London to Dover. Under 1364 the death of a priest is mentioned, who had attempted to steal royal jewels deposited in the bishop of Durham's house in the Strand. A serjeant-at-arms named Cornwall and his accomplices were hung for robbery and other crimes in 1365 along with the murderers of a relative of Edward, lord Despenser. Informers were encouraged, and in one case recorded by Reading a certain Hugh de Lavenham was given a handsome daily allowance and admission to the table of the royal household. If we may believe the chronicler, this policy was particularly successful: "late and early, travellers, foreigners and merchants could now go to and fro with their goods throughout the kingdom, secure and unhurt."

A Westminster chronicler naturally records the more notable of the many splendid tournaments at Smithfield and Cheapside which were so characteristic a feature of this period. Reading is the original authority for the famous jousts of 1359 in honour of John of Gaunt's marriage to Blanche of Lancaster when the king, his four sons and nineteen nobles, disguised as the mayor and twenty-four aldermen, tilted against all comers. An even more eccentric impersonation, if we rightly interpret Reading's brief description, was seen in a tournament of 1362, in which the challengers figured as the Seven Deadly Sins (p. 151). The chronicler seems to have disapproved of this assumption (if not of all tournaments), for he remarks that evil spirits heralded it throughout the year, adducing as evidence the destructive wind in January, which (he says) blew for seven days and nights consecutively. A grand tournament at Smithfield in May of this year, which lasted five days and was attended by many

foreign knights, had an unfortunate result. A great fire broke out in the neighbouring priory of St. John and destroyed some of its buildings.

A curious sidelight upon the mode of payment adopted in meeting the heavy liabilities incurred by such festivities is furnished by a jocular remark attributed to king John of France. In 1358 the feast of St. George was kept at Windsor with more than usual splendour in honour of the royal prisoner, " in a regal but too expensive fashion " says Reading. John laughingly declared that he had never seen nor heard of festivities like this being paid for entirely by tallies and not with gold or silver. The English crown officials had in fact devised a sort of mediæval cheque system, in which royal creditors were paid by notched wooden tallies which were not indeed orders upon a bank, but represented an equivalent sum due to the crown. This convenient arrangement would seem to have been unknown in France, where even in modern times the cheque has never come into such general use as in this country.

Enough has perhaps now been said to make clear the character of Reading's chronicle, its very modest pretensions and its singular medley of matters great and small, important and unimportant. It is often silent or reticent where we could wish it full, and explicit where brevity would have been readily excused. But it has at least the charm of variety, and doubtless it reflects pretty faithfully the attitude of a great monastic community to current events in the middle decades of the fourteenth century.

6.—Reading's Chronicle as a Source of Later Compilations.

The absence of any other contemporary historical work continuing the narrative of Avesbury from 1356, which was as accessible as a Westminster chronicle must have been, is perhaps enough to account for the large use made of it in at least four later compilations. These are (1) the ordinary continuation of the Polychronicon, (2) The Brut chronicle,

(3) the continuation of the chronicle of Adam Murimuth, (4) the St. Albans' chronicle or chronicles. The priority in date of the first-named is not open to doubt, since it can be proved to have been one of the sources, direct or indirect, of all the others. Less easy to determine is the order in which The Brut and the continuation of Murimuth were composed. Both are later than 1377, but they are quite independent of each other. As The Brut is here only a compressed English version of parts of Reading's chronicle, supplemented from the continuation of the Polychronicon, it may be convenient to take it second in order. The continuation of Murimuth and the St. Albans chronicle have a good deal in common, besides what they have taken independently from Reading, and it is quite clear that one has borrowed from the other. Mr. Riley, the editor of that form of the St. Albans chronicle known as the Historia Anglicana claimed priority for his text, but a minute comparison has convinced me that Mr. Hog, the last editor of the Murimuth continuation, was right in his view that the St. Albans compilers were the borrowers. They probably had a better text of the continuation before them than that which is in print, but their frequent wordiness and turgidity, where the continuator states the same facts simply and effectively, leave little doubt that they are merely paraphrasing. Moreover these passages are sometimes imbedded so deeply in matter taken from Reading that only a miracle could have enabled the continuator to excerpt them without also borrowing some of the Reading material, and this, in such cases, he never does. Having thus formed a rough idea of the order in which these derived sources were written, we may now proceed to estimate the extent to which each was indebted to Reading.

(1) *The Ordinary Continuation of the Polychronicon.*

Ranulf Higden closed his Universal History not later than 1348, down to which point the manuscripts present a single text with only occasional though in some cases

considerable variations. It was afterwards furnished with at least three continuations, each carrying on the narrative to the end of Edward III's reign, or to an early year in that of Richard II. Two of these were printed by Professor Lumby in the appendix to his edition of the Polychronicon in the Rolls series: (*a*) a continuation from 1348 to 1381 found attached to manuscripts of the type which he letters A (*op. cit.*, vol. viii, pp. 355—406). Between the publication of his eighth volume in 1882 and the appearance of the ninth in 1886 Professor Lumby found in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, a manuscript (No. 197) of the Polychronicon in which this continuation is carried on to 1394. A note inserted under 1344 attributes the authorship of the narrative from that point[1] to John Malvern, monk of Worcester, and on the strength of this the editor ascribed the whole continuation down to 1394 to Malvern. But Dr. Armitage Robinson has more recently shown that the section covering the years 1381—1394 formed no part of Malvern's continuation, but was the work of a monk of Westminster.[2]

(*b*) A continuation from 1352 to 1376 appended to manuscripts of the class which is distinguished in the Rolls edition by the letter B (*op. cit.*, vol. viii, pp. 407—428). This is much the more meagre of the two printed sequels, but it is found in a far larger number of manuscripts, and it was from a manuscript of this type that John Trevisa made the translation of the Polychronicon into English, which he completed in 1387. In Trevisa's copy, however, the continuation was not carried beyond the conclusion of the peace of Brétigny in 1360, unless he deliberately chose to omit its later portion. There is good reason to believe that the manuscript which Lumby used for the text of this

1. Or rather from 1346 after a gap of two years. The writer of the note is, however, certainly wrong in attributing to Malvern, who became prior of Worcester in 1395 and was apparently living in 1410, the authorship of the section 1346-8, which was in the copies of the Polychronicon used about 1367-8 by Reading and the monk of Malmesbury who wrote the Eulogium Historiarum.

2. *Proc. of British Academy*, Vol. III (1907-8), 61-92.

B continuation is not one of the oldest and most correct of its class.

(*c*) A third continuation, extending from 1348 to the death of Edward III, which seems to have escaped the attention of the editors of the Polychronicon, need not detain us here, because it is only the B continuation with additions and expansions. It will require further consideration when we come to deal with the continuation of Murimuth, with which it stands in a close relation.

It is unfortunate that Professor Lumby did not compare more carefully the text of the two continuations which he printed, for there can be no question that he has reversed their true order. Apart from the fact that his A continuation comes down to a date five years later, internal evidence leaves no doubt that either B, or a common source nearer to B, was one of the sources used by its compiler. Lumby's B continuation is therefore the older text of the two and should have been given precedence in his edition. As the original continuation of the most popular Latin chronicle of the period it was widely copied, and was (in part) translated by Trevisa. The later and fuller continuations were never in such demand, though the one which has not been printed was preferred by the anonymous author of a second English translation of the Polychronicon made in the fifteenth century.[1]

This earliest and ordinary continuation has a good deal of matter in common with Reading's chronicle. A comparison of dates shows that Reading (or a common source) must have been its authority for this matter; unless it grew by successive accretions, written at or near the time the events happened, the earlier of which might have been in the hands of a Westminster chronicler before 1369. The suggestion that the continuation was not compiled as a single work in or after 1376 is in some measure favoured by Trevisa's apparent ignorance in 1387 of more than its

1. Printed (with Trevisa's version) in the Rolls edition of the Polychronicon from Harley MS. 2261.

first eight years. Reading's omission of certain details in common entries of the years 1352–54 seems at first sight to encourage the idea that he is here following the continuation, but his account of the release of David Bruce in 1357 is the fuller of the two and looks more likely to be the original. Allowance must also be made for the possibility that transcribers of his chronicle dropped the missing details, or that he and the continuator were drawing upon a common source. Other considerations too, advanced in an earlier section of this Introduction,[1] make it improbable that he can have had any continuation of the Polychronicon before him. The evidence does not perhaps warrant a dogmatic conclusion, nevertheless on the whole it is difficult to reconcile with Reading's dependence upon the Polychronicon for the entries in question.

However this may be, there can be no real doubt as to Reading's priority in the case of the fuller and more numerous passages which the two have in common from 1361 onwards. Several of these show special Westminster knowledge and interest quite natural in Reading, but unlikely to be possessed by a compiler who was not an inmate of the abbey. Reading, as we should expect, supplies a fairly full and interesting description of the ceremony in the abbey church on the occasion of the solemn ratification of the peace in the parliament of January 1361, and his dates are precise.[2] The continuator abbreviates ruthlessly, and omits all dates.[3] Reading again was more likely to record the abortive election of his abbot, Simon Langham, to the bishopric of London which was overruled by the pope's provision of Sudbury,[4] while the king's presentation to the abbey of the vestments in which St. Peter was believed to have celebrated mass was an event of domestic rather than general interest.[5] Hardly less

1. Above p. 28.
2. Below p. 148.
3. *Polychr.* VIII, 411.
4. Below p. 149 ; *Polychr. loc. cit.*
5. Below p. 153 ; *Polychr.* VIII, 413.

significant as evidence of Reading's originality in entries which appear in both chronicles, are two passages under 1361, an account of an eclipse followed by more astonishing portents,[1] and a wail over the conduct of the widows of men who died of the plague in that year. Both are quite in the spirit of other similar entries which are peculiar to Reading.

Even where this personal touch is absent, some additional detail usually marks Reading's entry as the earlier of the two. Thus he alone tells us that the cruel murder of a priest in London in 1363 occurred at the time of a tournament, and that the unknown perpetrators were excommunicated by the bishop of London. His statement that the great frost in the winter of 1363-4 much interfered with agricultural and other labour is not reproduced by the continuator, who, also, in relating the abbot of Battle's exercise of his right of saving a condemned criminal, omits the graphic detail that, on meeting and claiming the felon, "he took him back in his own company to Southwark and beyond." Upon this evidence we can have no hesitation in placing the earliest continuation of the Polychronicon among the compilations for which Reading's work was used.

(2) *The Brut Chronicle.*

The chronicle which mediæval writers quote under the title of The Brut (or Brute) of England, or The Brut, or The Chronicles of England, was even more popular than the Polychronicon in the later Middle Ages. Dr. Brie, its latest editor, enumerates no fewer than 167 manuscripts.[2]

1. Below pp. 148 *sqq.*; *Polychr.* VIII, 411. A further proof of Reading's priority may perhaps be deduced from a comparison of their descriptions of the two phantom armies in the most elaborate of these portents. According to Reading "unus signis militaribus, alter vero nigro colore ornabantur." The Continuator has "unus albo, alter nigro colore coopertus." It is more likely that a copyist simplified the antithesis than that Reading needlessly obscured it.

2. *The Brut or The Chronicles of England,* ed F. W. D. Brie, Ph.D. Early English Text Soc., 1906, 1908. Dr. Brie's introduction has not yet appeared, but I quote from an abstract of it published at Marburg (N. G. Elwert) in 1905 under the title: *Geschichte und Quellen der mittelenglischen Prosachronik the Brute of England oder The Chronicles of England.*

First printed by Caxton in 1480, ten further editions of the chronicle were called for in the ensuing half-century. Unlike the Polychronicon, it was limited to English history beginning with the birth and arrival in the island of the fabulous Brut (Brutus) the Trojan. The original Brut, a compilation in Anglo-Norman French from Wace and Gaimar, closed in 1066. Successive continuations, still in French, brought it down to the battle of Halidon Hill in 1333, but it is only after 1307 that it has any historical value. Here it is based upon contemporary accounts, especially the chronicle of William of Packington, clerk of the council to the Black Prince, which is now unfortunately lost. Later in the fourteenth century, probably between 1350 and 1380, according to Dr. Brie, the whole work was translated into English.[1] If this date can be sustained, the translation will take precedence of Trevisa's version of the Polychronicon as the oldest prose chronicle in (middle) English. Five manuscripts of the English Brut are known which end with 1333, but, after a longer or shorter interval, the chronicle received a continuation extending to the death of Edward III. This must have been added before 1400 if the date assigned to a manuscript at Helmingham Hall, Suffolk, by the Royal Commission on Historical MSS. can be trusted.[2]

Dr. Brie seems to have been the first to discover that the main source used by the continuator (down to 1367) is the Westminster chronicle found in Cotton MS., Cleopatra A. XVI, of which Reading's work forms the concluding portion. The extent of its use is, however, somewhat exaggerated by him owing to an oversight almost inevitable without a minute collation. He has, it is true, observed quite correctly that between 1341 and the beginning of Reading's chronicle in 1346 the continuator almost

1. *Geschichte und Quellen*, etc., p. 54.

2. *Ibid.*, pp. 57, 59.

completely abandons this source in favour of Murimuth,[1] though the suggestion that he may be following here an original text of the Westminster writer, which has been altered in Cleopatra A. XVI, is needless. But his statement that from 1346 Reading is the only source used is too sweeping. For the first fifteen years indeed the continuation contains nothing which is not taken, " fast wörtlich," as Dr. Brie says, from Reading. With the portents of 1361, however, the use of another source becomes apparent on careful examination. The account of these portents is in the main drawn from Reading, but a few touches, such as the description of the phantom armies, come from the ordinary continuation of the Polychronicon.[2] With the plague entry of this year the continuator of The Brut definitely adopts the Polychronicon as his main authority, though still occasionally supplementing it from Reading. It is not merely that he prefers the Polychronicon version of events noticed in both. Entries which are peculiar to that chronicle appear in The Brut. Thus in the first year (1361) in which the new source is used the translator takes from it three items, the marriage of the Black Prince, the doings of the Great and White Companies and the promotion of John of Gaunt to a dukedom,[3] which do not appear at all in Reading. This additional matter is, however, too meagre to explain his desertion of Reading for the Polychronicon as his main source. A more obvious attraction, for a writer who had to study brevity, lay in the fact that the continuator of the Polychronicon had to a great extent saved him the trouble of selecting and compressing entries from this portion of Reading's chronicle. The Polychronicon is here, as we have already seen,[4] largely

1. The reason is obvious. At this point the Westminster chronicler leaves the general current of English affairs and confines himself very largely to ecclesiastical events and the fortunes of his own monastery. Between 1340 and 1346 he only furnishes one item to the Brut chronicle, the denunciations of the fashions of 1344 (ed. Brie, p. 296).

2. *Brut*, ed. Brie, p. 314 ; *Polychron.*, ed. Lumby, VIII, 411.

3. *Brut*, p. 314.

4. Above p. 46.

based upon Reading's work, and The Brut continuator's change of source is more apparent than real. He was not wholly content, moreover, with the Polychronicon selections from Reading, for he introduces a number of additional passages taken directly from the Westminster chronicle. The following are the most important. After describing from the Polychronicon the havoc wrought by the great wind of 15 January 1362, he adds from Reading that it blew incessantly for a week, and that the ensuing summer was so wet that "all feld-werkes were strongly let and left undone."[1] A similar result of the great frost of 1363–4 is noted, again from Reading, for the Polychronicon omits it. The exact date of the birth of the Black Prince's eldest son in 1365, which the Polychronicon also omits, is supplied, and the entries which immediately follow this event, narrating the refusal to pay Peter's pence to the pope, the heavy rains of this summer, "debate and fightyng of sparows by diuers places," and a severe pestilence, are all taken directly from Reading, being unnoticed in the secondary source.[2] With the Danish naval descent of 1366 the compiler of The Brut begins a long addition from Reading extending over 2½ pages, summarising pretty fully his account of the negotiations which preceded the Black Prince's invasion of Spain and of the dire portents of war and disaster which occurred about this time.[3] The Polychronicon, which has only a brief sentence or two on the origin of the war in Spain, is returned to by the Brut continuator for the battle of Najera, with some additional details from Reading, and becomes his sole source when Reading's chronicle closes shortly after this victory.

Where almost everything comes from Reading, either at first or second hand, Dr. Brie may be excused for not having suspected, on a casual examination and in ignorance of the existence of the continuation of the Polychronicon,

1. *Op. cit.*, p. 315; below p. 151.
2. *Ibid.*, p. 316; below pp. 163 *sqq.*
3. *Op. cit.*, pp. 317-319; below pp. 172 *sqq.*

that use had been made of a derived source as well as of the original. That he did not know of the Polychronicon sequel is clear from his identification of the source which underlies The Brut from 1367 with the well-known continuation of Murimuth. Under the circumstances his mistake was natural enough, the continuation of Murimuth for the last ten years of the reign of Edward III being almost identical in substance and even in wording with the continuation of the Polychronicon. But as we now know that the compiler of the Brut chronicle used the Polychronicon for the period 1361—1367, it is reasonable to suppose that he would continue to follow it after the latter date. This inference is fully confirmed by a comparison of the three chronicles. Where the Polychronicon and the Murimuth continuation have a different wording The Brut translates the Polychronicon text.[1] This, as will be shown in the next section, is the earlier of the two, the continuation of Murimuth being a compilation from the Polychronicon and other sources.

The only manuscript containing the full text of the continuation of The Brut from 1333 to 1377, which has hitherto been accessible, is in the library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and bears the number 174 in Nasmyth's catalogue. It forms the basis of this section of the edition of the whole chronicle published by Dr. Brie, according to whom it was written at the beginning of the fifteenth century. This Corpus manuscript was much used by a Cambridge scholar of the seventeenth century, Joshua Barnes, in his History of Edward III (1688), but he does not seem to have recognised its identity with Caxton's Chronicles of England, while his vague reference, "MS. vet. Angl. in CCC Cantab." long concealed its real nature

1. Thus they agree in stating the price of the bushel of wheat in the dear year 1370 as "forty pence' where the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 205) has "three shillings," Again, The Brut (p. 321) dates Lancaster's invasion of France in 1369 "about midsummer" where the Polychronicon (p. 418) has "circa festum Nativitatis Sancti Baptistae" (*i.e.*, 24 June), but the Continuation of Murimuth reads "circa festum Nativitatis beatae Mariae" (p. 206).

from later writers, who cited its statements from Barnes. This was first pointed out by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson in the notes to his edition of the chronicle of Geoffrey le Baker which appeared in 1889.[1] Barnes' excerpts from that part of The Brut which was drawn from Reading's chronicle include the mysterious story of the Danish attack upon England in 1366. In connexion with this it should be noted, as bearing upon his use of his authorities, that, if Dr. Brie's text is correct, the Cambridge professor silently supplied two words (one of which is proved wrong by Reading) in the imperfect Brut version of the English rhyming couplet with which the story closes.[2]

The attribution of this incident by Barnes to 1367 instead of to 1366, as in Reading, is due to his failure to perceive that the regnal years in this section of The Brut are consistently a year late. The mistake begins so far back as the entry for 1334 where the king's Christmas sojourn at Roxburgh is dated in the ninth instead of the eighth year of his reign.[3]

(3) *The Continuation of Murimuth.*

The chronicle known as the continuation of Murimuth is found in a single manuscript only, No. 304, in the library of Queen's College, Oxford, appended as a sequel to the first edition of Adam Murimuth's work which ended in 1337.[4] It has been twice printed, first by Anthony Hall at Oxford in 1722, and again by Thomas Hog for the English Historical Society in 1846. Though it is brought down to 1381, Hog, observing that the section 1377–81 is incorporated (with other matter) in the chronicle of the monk of Evesham, expressed a doubt whether this part

1. p. 184.
2. Barnes, p. 717; cf. note below p. 171.
3. *The Brut,* p. 291.
4. Addit. MS. 12118 in the British Museum, written in the 15th century, is, however, in the main a copy of the *Cont. Murim.* used as a continuation of the *Polychronicon.* The Poitiers verses are omitted, and the Black Prince's dying speech (from the *Chronicon Angliae*) and a denunciation of Edward III's financial oppressions are added. For the latter, see Appendix B, below p. 91.

of the work was by the same author as the rest. The underlying assumption that down to the death of Edward III the continuation is an original composition cannot be justified. But Hog's suggestion is so far correct that the continuator took his account of the first four years of Richard II practically unaltered from the continuation of the Polychronicon by John Malvern, monk and afterwards prior of Worcester, which has come to light since Hog's time.[1] For the reign of Edward III the compiler, who must have written after 1381, drew chiefly upon the Polychronicon and its continuations, including Malvern's. He also made use of the chronicles of Avesbury and Reading, with possibly others, and treated his material on the whole with rather more freedom.

In the early part of his work the continuator of Murimuth had before him a fuller continuation of the Polychronicon than the two which have appeared in print. It is preserved in two manuscripts of the Polychronicon in the British Museum, No. 86 in the Arundel collection, and Additional MS. 10,104, which belonged to Adam of Usk (d. 1430), and has his chronicle appended. Arundel 86, despite some omissions, seems in certain points to represent the original form of this continuation more closely than Addit. 10,104. The latter (or a similar MS.) was used by the author of the fifteenth century translation of the Polychronicon printed in the eighth volume of the Rolls edition. This third continuation may be shortly described as an expanded version of the ordinary continuation, the additions being most considerable at the beginning and the end. In the one case the gaps in the older form of the Polychronicon between 1342 and 1344 and 1348 and 1352 are filled up, and in the other a somewhat elaborate sketch of the character of Edward III is introduced.

1. *Cont. Murim.*, ed. Hog, pp. 228-243; *Polychron.*, ed. Lumby, VIII, 393-406. The discovery of Malvern's authorship of course disposes of Hog's attribution of this part of the work to the monk of Evesham, who was only a borrower, like the continuator of Murimuth. If a note in MS. CCC Camb. 197 (*Polychron.* IX, viii) can be interpreted strictly, Malvern's continuation of the Polychronicon was written before he became prior in 1395.

There can be no doubt that the sources of which use was made for these additions included the Westminster chronicle contained in Cotton MS. Cleopatra A. XVI, both before and after Reading takes up the pen. Under 1342 the compiler takes verbally from Reading's predecessor the statement—not strictly true—that on the conclusion of the truce of Malestroit, Vannes remained subject to king Edward.[1] The notice of the general chapter of the Benedictines at Northampton, where one of the presidents was Thomas Henley, abbot of Westminster, obviously comes from the same source. Moreover the mistakes of the Westminster writer are innocently copied. Abbot Henley's death is placed in 1343, a year too early, and the stupid confusion which in the Cotton MS. defers the coronation of Clement VI to 1343, gives rise to a second notice of the death of Benedict XII under that year, though it has already been correctly placed in 1342 from the Polychronicon.[2]

The compiler's indebtedness to Reading from 1346 is equally clear. The brief account of the Crécy campaign in the Polychronicon is expanded, often verbally, from the Westminster writer. A short extract which may be compared with the corresponding passage on p. 100 below will show how closely the text of Reading is followed :

> Tandem rex Edwardus, veniens Pusianum, fractum pontem ibidem infra duos dies reparari fecit. Interim comes Northampton', flumen Sequanam transiens, pontium refectionem impedire volentium quingentos interfecit ex eis.[3]

1. Addit. MS. 10,104, f. 149 b ; Cotton MS. Cleop. A. xvi, f. 152 b. By the treaty Vannes was to remain during the truce in the custody of the cardinals who negotiated it, but Edward III afterwards took possession of it (*Scalacronica* in Leland, *Collectanea*, i, 569 ; Murimuth (Rolls Series), p. 182).

2. In both cases the mistake has been taken over by the continuator of Murimuth (p. 174) who, however, endeavours to account for the second entry of Benedict's death by the insertion of a " secundum quosdam."

3. Addit. MS. 10,104, f. 149 b.

Among subsequent passages, clearly borrowed from Reading, are the notices of the death of Simon de Bircheston, abbot of Westminster, and the succession of Langham, the duel between Thomas de la Marche, bastard of France, and John Visconti, knight of Cyprus (Cipres), at Westminster, where the compiler has curtailed "Cipres" to "Ipres,"[1] the new coinage of 1351, the (misdated) resignation of bishop Heath of Rochester, the drought and scarcity of 1353 which was relieved by corn sent by William, count of Holland, the peerage promotions of Henry of Lancaster, and Ralph Stafford, postdated by two years as in Reading, the death of queen Isabella, which both place in 1357—a year too early—the miracle at the tomb of Thomas of Lancaster in 1359, and the episcopal changes of 1361.

All the entries in Arundel MS. 86 and Addit. MS. 10,104, which seem to be derived from Reading, reappear, with or without further additions, in the continuation of Murimuth. The wording of these common passages makes it certain that one of the two compilers borrowed from the other. But the supposition that the continuation of Murimuth was an intermediate source between Reading and the continuation of the Polychronicon with which we are dealing is excluded by the closer verbal similarity of the latter to the Westminster chronicle in such entries as the description of the campaign of Crécy. Its occasional omission of short passages which appear in the Murimuth continuation cannot disprove its priority, being probably due to the use by the continuator of a somewhat fuller form of the text found in Arundel 86 and Addit. 10,104. This conclusion is supported by the fact that the continuation of Murimuth uses a larger number of sources, and diverges more widely from the wording of the ordinary continuation of the Polychronicon where both follow it. But though its debt to Reading is often at second hand, or even (through the

1. Copied in *Cont. Murim.*, p. 182.

ordinary Polychronicon continuation) at third hand, there can be no doubt that its compiler had Reading's chronicle before him and took from it directly a good many passages. His notice of the removal of the staple to England is too brief to allow much stress to be laid upon coincidence of wording, but a stronger proof of his dependence is that, like Reading, he puts it a year too late.[1] The entry immediately following, with its very inaccurate account of the circumstances under which the Black Prince was sent to Gascony in 1355, is plainly derived from a rather misleading passage in Reading. For the king's raid from Calais in November of this year the continuator seems to condense from the Westminster writer, but must also have used Avesbury directly, unless there is an omission in the Cotton manuscript.[2] The false date for the recovery of Berwick in January 1356, comes from Reading; from whom also is taken the account of Edward Balliol's resignation of his crown to Edward III.

It is not easy to determine the extent of Reading's contribution to the continuator's description of the Poitiers campaign, but the precise date of the Black Prince's landing at Plymouth in the next year doubtless came from him.[3] To Reading also may be traced possibly the mention of the rise of the Great Company in France and almost certainly the notice of John of Gaunt's wedding at Reading in May 1359,[4] and the addition to the obituary list of this year of Roger de Northburgh, bishop of Lichfield, whose Christian name is given wrongly by both as Geoffrey. The dates of the opening of Parliament in 1361 and of the solemn ratification of the peace with France in Westminster Abbey [5] seem to be added from Reading to an account otherwise based upon that found in the ordinary continuation of the Polychronicon. In the entry recording the visit of three

1. *Cont. Murim.*, p. 185; below p. 119.
2. *Cont. Murim.*, p. 186, below p. 121.
3. *Cont. Murim.*, p. 190; below p. 126.
4. *Cont. Murim.*, p. 193; below p. 131.
5. *Cont. Murim.*, p. 194; below p. 148., cf. *Polychron.* VIII, 410-11.

kings to England in 1363 the (direct) influence of Reading is merely verbal, but the episcopal appointments of 1362 are taken immediately from him, for they do not appear in the Polychronicon. After 1363 there seems to be no certain case of the direct use of Reading's chronicle by the continuator of Murimuth.

(4) *The St. Albans Chronicle.*

Of the later compilers who made use of Reading's work the one who pays him the compliment of closest reproduction is the St. Albans chronicler who put together the history of Edward III's reign which is incorporated in the well-known Historia Anglicana attributed to Thomas Walsingham. The continuator of The Brut does little more than translate Reading, but at least he usually condenses his original. Whereas the St. Albans compiler borrows whole passages almost verbatim, with only such changes as he found necessary to straighten out Reading's awkward constructions. Plagiarism, however, was not regarded as an offence in the Middle Ages, and, if it had been, the culprit might have pleaded an extenuating circumstance in the fact that the Westminster chronicle he copied so freely was in origin merely a continuation of one borrowed from his own house in the great age of its historiography.[1]

It is strange that for the first forty years of the reign of Edward III, during the second half of which period the abbey was under the rule of its greatest abbot Thomas de la Mare, St. Albans should have kept no contemporary record of events. Yet this is the only conclusion to be drawn from the wholly derivative character of this portion of the Historia Anglicana, or rather of the late fourteenth century compilations upon which it is based. There is no trace of a St. Albans historian between John de Trokelowe and Henry de Blaneforde who were living in 1330, but brought the

1. See above p. 3.

abbey chronicle down no further than 1324, and Thomas Walsingham or the author of the "Scandalous Chronicle" of the years 1376–79—if he be not Walsingham, in the last quarter of the century.

It was apparently Walsingham who filled in from a variety of sources the great gap between the work of the early part of the century and his own contemporary annals. The oldest form of this compilation extant is found in the so-called Short Chronicle of St. Albans, 1328—1388, which has been edited by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson.[1] In its composition the Westminster chronicle, which Reading carried down to 1367, has been drawn upon both directly and indirectly. Indirectly, through the continuation of Murimuth which is, along with Reading, the compiler's chief source. It has indeed been asserted by Mr. Riley, the editor of the Historia Anglicana, that the internal evidence leaves little room for doubt that the relation of the two chronicles was exactly the reverse of that here assumed, that "the compiler of the continuation has been indebted to the St. Albans volume, or its immediate sources and not the St. Albans compiler to the continuator."[2] But a really careful comparison of the parallel passages in the two chronicles fully supports the view of Mr. Hog, the editor of the continuation, that "Walsingham has transferred and enlarged nearly the whole of the text of our author."[3] In common entries derived from the Polychronicon or from Reading the priority of the continuation is sufficiently attested by its not infrequent preservation of the wording of the original source where it is altered in the St. Albans chronicle.[4] The

1. *Chronicon Angliae, 1328-88* (Rolls Series). For its connection with other St. Albans compilations see the preface and those of Mr. H. T. Riley to the *Historia Anglicana* (1273-1422) and the *Annales Ricardi II et Henrici IV* in the same series.

2. *Hist. Angl.* I, xxii.

3. Murimuth (Eng. Hist. Soc.), p. 175.

4. E.g. in the paragraph describing the surrender of Calais where the Continuation alone retains the *Quo viso* . . . of the Polychronicon.

latter is indeed usually the fuller of the two in such passages, but this greater fullness nearly always takes the form of a turgid and rhetorical expansion which betrays its secondary character. In the rare cases where the St. Albans compiler retains something from the original source which is omitted in the continuation two explanations are possible; either he has revised the continuation from the original, or the existing text of the continuation is defective. For the latter supposition a good deal of evidence is available.

We may take it then as proved that some of the correspondences observable between the text of the St. Albans compilation and that of Reading's chronicle are due to the compiler's use of the continuation of Murimuth. But he also had the Westminster chronicler's work before him and made much heavier draughts upon it at first hand. Most of the borrowed passages are indicated by Mr. Riley in the margin of his edition of the Historia Anglicana, but some were overlooked by him, especially where an account taken from another source is enlarged by a sentence or two from Reading. Only such omissions need be noted here. These obligations to the Westminster chronicle extend back to a date five years before Reading's part of it begins. The first entry traceable to this source is that of the birth of the short-lived daughter of Edward III, Blanche of the Tower, and her burial at Westminster.[1] From the same source may possibly come the notice of the birth of her brother Edmund, though that is enlarged in the St. Albans chronicle. In its description of Edward's expedition to Brittany in 1342, taken from the continuation of Murimuth, there is a sentence added directly from the Westminster chronicle.[2] Under 1346 Riley has failed to note the obligation of the St. Albans compiler to Reading for the entry of the birth of Edward III's daughter Margaret, in

1. Cotton MS. Cleop. A. XVI, f. 151 b and below p. 83.

2. Cotton MS. Cleop. A. XVI, f. 152 ; *Chron. Angl.*, p. 13: "ipsum juvare volens contra Karolum de Bloys, qui desponsavit filiam alterius fratris germani."

which the borrower has introduced an error into the date.[1] A more serious oversight ignores the source from which he described the earl of Derby's campaign in Gascony and Poitou in 1346. This is taken almost verbally from Reading's abridgment of the earl's despatch in Avesbury.[2] The almost certain derivation from Reading of the story of the temporary conversion to Christianity of plague-stricken Orientals is also unnoticed.[3] Reading too may have been the compiler's authority for his statement that the ravages of the plague left hardly enough living men to bury the dead. Another addition from Reading to which attention has not been drawn records the fact that the Flagellants had no papal authority for their proceedings.[4] Riley has further failed to note obvious borrowing from the Westminster writer in the accounts of the coinage changes of 1351 and of the battle of Mauron in the following year,[5] while the marginal entry on p. 277 of the Historia Anglicana is so placed as to conceal the fact that the whole paragraph on the legislation of 1353 is taken straight from Reading.[6] In a passage two pages on it is not clear whether the marginal note is intended (as it should be) to indicate that more than the first paragraph on page 279 is derived from the same source. Under 1357 the explanation of the Oxford Interdict removed in that year and the note on jousts should have been traced to Reading.[7] He is not credited with the St. Albans compiler's additions to the short notice of the controversy between archbishop Fitz-Ralph and the Friars taken from the continuation of Murimuth,[8] and it is by no means made clear that the whole story of the quarrel between bishop Lisle of Ely and Lady

1. *Hist. Angl.* I, 270 (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 24); below p. 102.
2. *Hist. Angl.* I, 270 (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 24); below p. 101.
3. *Hist. Angl.* I, 273 (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 26); below p. 106.
4. *Hist. Angl.* I, 275 (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 29); below p. 112.
5. *Hist. Angl.* I, 276 (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 29); below p. 113-5.
6. Below p. 117.
7. *Hist. Angl.* I, 284-5 (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 38); below pp. 126, 129.
8. *Hist. Angl.* I, 285 (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 38); *Cont. Murim.*, p. 191; below p. 130.

Blanche de Wake comes from him.[1] The French proposals for peace in 1359 are not clearly marked as taken from Reading.[2] An entry under 1360 of the death of two bishops and of a disease which raged among old men and boys, also drawn from Reading, escaped Riley's notice because it occurs only in the oldest form of the St. Albans compilation,[3] being (with other passages) omitted by the author of the Historia Anglicana. On page 297 of the last-named chronicle the statement that the Black Prince did not lay down his English titles on his creation as prince of Aquitaine should have been noted in the margin as an addition from Reading,[4] from whom also comes the notice of the death of king John of France in April, 1364, which is likewise unidentified.[5] This seems to be the last passage which the St. Albans compiler took directly from the Westminster chronicle. It is curious that he should have abandoned a source which he had followed so largely for a quarter of a century within three years of its close. He was probably influenced partly by the amount of space devoted in the concluding pages of Reading to matters of no general historical importance, just when the approach of great events counselled brevity, and partly by his discovery of another source for the intervention of the Black Prince in the Spanish question.

As one of the manuscripts (Bodl. MS. 316) of the short St. Albans chronicle from 1328 to 1388, containing the matter borrowed from Reading in its earliest form, was presented by Thomas of Woodstock, duke of Gloucester, who died in 1397, to the College of the Holy Trinity, which he founded in his castle at Pleshey in January 1394, these loans cannot be much later in date than the year with which

1. *Hist. Angl.* I, 285 (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 39) ; below p. 129.
2. *Ibid.* ; *Hist. Angl.* I, p. 286.
3. *Chron. Angl.*, p. 48 ; below p. 147. For an earlier omission in *Hist. Angl.*, p. 288, which makes nonsense of the dates of Edward III's campaign in 1360, see note below p. 280.
4. Below p. 153.
5. *Ibid.*, p. 162 ; *Hist. Angl.* I, 300 (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 55) ; below p. 320.

the short chronicle closes. Long afterwards in his Ypodigma Neustriae, completed in 1419, which generally condenses but occasionally expands the old narrative, Walsingham turned once more to the Westminster chronicle, added a few touches from it to his account of the Breton expedition of 1342-3,[1] and rewrote the story of the Crécy campaign with its aid.[2] But there his borrowing stopped.

The determination of the exact relation of the St. Albans compilation to Reading's chronicle, from which it derives a great part of such importance as it possesses for the period 1346—1364, should be of use to the historian in so far as it enables him, on the one hand, to estimate the real value of the matter taken from this source and, on the other, to explain the occasionally startling chronological and other mistakes which disfigure the St. Albans text. On the first point something has already been said (above, p. 35), and we have seen the length to which Reading's perversion of chronology could go (p. 31). In one or two cases, if he had not a more accurate text before him than that of the Cotton MS., the St. Albans compiler has corrected mistakes;[3] but for the most part he, like Reading's other copyists, faithfully reproduces the errors of his original, and even adds to them, as in the terrible confusion he makes of the campaign of 1359.

1. *Ypodigma Neustriae* (Rolls Series), p. 281.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 285-7.
3. Thus, for example, the regnal year of the second Statute of Labourers is corrected from 39 (below p. 113) to 35 Edward III (*Chron. Angl*,. p. 29; 34 Edward III in *Statutes* I, 366, as parliament opened on 24 Jan., 1361, the last day of that regnal year); but the error in the date of the first statute is retained, and even exaggerated. Another correction is that of the Christian name of the Bishop of Lichfield, who died in 1359 (below p. 134. *Chron. Angl.*, p, 41).

II.—THE ANONYMOUS CANTERBURY CHRONICLE.

The annals 1346—1367 which are printed on pages 187-227 below form the concluding and the only original portion of a chronicle generally known under the title Brutus, sive de gestis Anglorum ab ipsis gentis incunabulis, which is the first item in MS. No. 99 of the Lambeth Palace library. With the three works which follow it in the same manuscript, Historia Pontificum Romanorum, Historia Imperatorum Romanorum and Vitae Archiepiscoporum Cantuariensium, it has long been attributed without question to the pen of Stephen Birchington, a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, in the latter part of the fourteenth century. Yet the ascription seems to rest upon very unsatisfactory evidence. It was first propounded, in 1691, by the learned Henry Wharton. In editing the Vitae Archiepiscoporum Cantuariensium—the only one of the four histories which has yet appeared in print—for his Anglia Sacra, Wharton accepted Birchington's authorship without hesitation. On the strength of similarity of style and method he expressed his conviction that the other three were the work of the same hand, and accordingly he attached Birchington's name to his transcript of the Brutus chronicle, which is now Harley MS. 4321 in the British Museum. Yet there is no evidence earlier than the end of the third quarter of the sixteenth century for the attribution of any of the four to Birchington. They are all anonymous in the Lambeth MS., nor does any author's name appear in the abbreviation of them made not long after their composition and ascribed to bishop Rede of Chichester. Birchington's authorship of the Vitae, and consequently of the others, rests in fact entirely upon

an inference drawn by Wharton from certain references given by John Joscelyn, Latin secretary to archbishop Parker. In the Latin lives of the archbishops which Joscelyn contributed to Parker's De Antiquitate Britannicae Ecclesiae (1572) Wharton's attention was attracted by frequent references to Stephen Birchington for facts which are found in the Vitae of the Lambeth MS., and by quotations from the "invectives" of Edward III and archbishop Stratford in 1341 which Joscelyn says he had found only in Birchington, but which also occur in the Lambeth MS. Wharton noted, however, that Joscelyn's Birchington must have been fuller than the Lambeth MS. in the lives of some of the earlier archbishops and that it obviously came down to a later date. For Joscelyn refers to Birchington in his lives of Sudbury (1375–81) and Courtenay (1381–97), while the Lambeth Vitae end with the accession of Wittlesey in 1369. The conclusion which Wharton drew from these facts was that Birchington had produced two editions of his lives of the archbishops, the second and fuller of which was used by Joscelyn. He made a search for it, but without success, and it has not come to light since his time. Its complete disappearance is strange. For our purpose, however, it is not necessary to look for corroboration of its existence in Joscelyn's time or to satisfy ourselves that Wharton was right in identifying it as merely a fuller form of the Lambeth Vitae. But this need not involve acceptance of Wharton's corollary that the earlier and shorter form of the Lives was also the work of Birchington. If that writer attached his name to the second edition we should hardly have expected him to leave the first anonymous, were it also by his hand. The doubt which is thus suggested is confirmed by the difficulty, if not impossibility, of reconciling one of the two ascertained dates in Birchington's biography with his authorship of the histories in the Lambeth MS.

Of Birchington even less is known than of Reading. He became a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury, in

1382.[1] Later, he was for a long period treasurer of the monastery and warden of all its manors. At the time of his death he held the important office of cellarer and was in priest's orders. He died on Sunday, 21 August, 1407.[2] The second edition of the Vitae Archiepiscoporum Cantuariensium, to which (if Wharton is right) he must have put his name, and which was certainly brought down to 1381,[3] and possibly to the end of Courtenay's archiepiscopate in 1397, was therefore executed, or at least completed, while he was a monk of the cathedral priory. On the other hand, the anonymous first edition of the Vitae which ends with the restoration of the temporalities to Wittlesey on 15 January 1369, was presumably finished before that archbishop's death in 1374. The History of the Popes, in which the last event recorded is the election of Gregory XI in December 1370, may reasonably be supposed to have been written not later than the end of Gregory's pontificate in March 1378. As the History of the Roman Emperors mentions the death of Charles IV in November 1378, it must have been completed after that date, but not long after, if we may argue from the absence of any mention of Charles' successor. Finally there is some reason for supposing that the Brutus chronicle of English history was the earliest in composition of the four historical tracts. It ends somewhat abruptly in 1367, and the concluding words of its narrative

1. *Anglia Sacra*, Pref. p. xix, (from a list of professions between 1207 and 1486 made by Thomas Cawston, a monk of Christ Church.) Birchington in the Isle of Thanet, the church of which belonged to Christ Church, is usually said to have been his birthplace, but may only have been the original home of his family.

2. With one exception, these details of his monastic life come from Cawston's *Obituarium* in Ch. Ch. Cant. MS. D. 12, for an extract from which I have to thank the Hon. Librarian of the Chapter, the Rev. C. Eveleigh Woodruff. Tanner, who printed the passage from Wharton's MS. Collectanea in Lambeth Library, omitted the day of the week (*Bibliotheca Britannico-Hibernica*, p. 101). In his preface to Anglia Sacra, Wharton quotes only an obituary which gave the day of the month without the year, and described Birchington as a priest.

3. Joscelyn's last reference to Birchington is for Courtenay's translation to Canterbury in 1381.

(below, p. 224) may even imply that the Black Prince was still in Spain when the writer laid down his pen.

It seems probable then, without going beyond the evidence afforded by their terminal dates, that the four histories in the Lambeth MS. were all written before Birchington became a monk of Christ Church in 1382, and two of them, the Brutus chronicle and the Vitae, a good many years before that time. An examination of the contents of these two leaves no doubt that for the last decade or so covered by them they are the work of an author who was contemporary with the events which he describes. The later lives in the Vitae, and especially that of archbishop Islip (1349—1366) seem to be written from personal knowledge, while the evidence of the annals which are printed below is even more decisive in the same direction.

The itineraries between London, Canterbury and Dover or *vice versa* of the papal legates in 1357, of king John of France in 1358 and 1364, of his embalmed remains on their last journey to France in the summer of the latter year, and of count Louis of Flanders in the autumn following, with their careful record of dates, including in nearly every case the correct day of the week, present unmistakeable signs of contemporary composition.

Interspersed with these Kentish entries are notices of more general events, which cannot be traced to any known chronicle. They contain details which none but a contemporary is at all likely to have known. The author is aware, for instance, that Emery de Pavia, whom Geoffrey de Charny sought to suborn to surrender Calais to the French in 1350, was captain of the king's galleys (p. 194), that the first treaty of London was signed on 8 May 1358 (p. 208), and that John de Cobham was in charge of the four hostages of the Fleur-de-Lys at Calais when the duke of Anjou escaped in 1363 (p. 214). He alone records the names of the magnates who took the oath to observe the treaty of Calais along with John of France in October 1360 (p. 211).

The faulty rubrication of some of the years and the occasional dislocation of the true order of events, so far as they are not due to careless transcription, tend indeed to show that the material was put together in a rather hasty and unskilful fashion. But even on the supposition, which is quite unnecessary, that this was done by a later hand, the contemporary origin of the material itself would remain incontestable. These considerations are not, of course, necessarily fatal to Birchington's authorship, if it is assumed that he became a monk unusually late in life. An objection more difficult to get over is that the contemporary author of the itineraries, who noted the visits of so many distinguished personages to Canterbury, was evidently closely connected with the cathedral and in all probability one of the monks. He records king John's gifts on his way back to France in 1360, a jewel to the shrine of St. Thomas, the exact value of which is mentioned, and a golden "nowche" set with precious gems to the image of St. Mary in the crypt. His description of the reception of John's body at the cathedral on 20 April 1364, and of the special services held on that and the following day is more detailed than could be expected from one outside the chapter. It is still less likely that a resident in Canterbury, who did not enjoy their advantages, could have picked up so much very fairly correct information as the author has preserved, or shown such minute acquaintance with the personalities of foreign visitors to Canterbury as seems to be involved in his knowledge, for instance, that the archbishop of Sens and the count of Tancarville were brothers (p. 206). He had access also to copies of papal letters to the Black Prince, and transcribed their rather elaborate Latinity with a fair degree of correctness.

All the internal evidence, therefore, in the last twenty years of the Brutus chronicle seems to point to the conclusion that its author was a monk of Christ Church, who collected his material while the events which he recorded were still fresh, and broke off his narrative in 1367 at a

moment when the latest news from the seat of the war in Spain was that the Black Prince and Peter the Cruel were quartered (*nunc morantur*) at Burgos after the victory of Najera.[1] In that case he cannot be the same person as Stephen Birchington who did not make his profession at Christ Church until 1382. Wharton himself felt this difficulty without pushing it home, for after recording the ceremony of 1382 he added: "Longe tamen antea se monachorum Cantuariensium consortio adjunxisse Stephanus censeri potest."

If we have stated the facts correctly, it seems more probable that the author of the Brutus chronicle and of the Lambeth Vitae was a different and anonymous monk of Christ Church, and that Birchington was only responsible for the second edition of the Vitae continued down to 1381 at least, which was used by Joscelyn. We have ventured therefore to disregard Wharton's attribution of our chronicle to Birchington and to restore to it the anonymity of the only manuscript.

The greater part of the chronicle which concludes with the contemporary or nearly contemporary annals that are printed in this volume is a mere compilation, of no value to the historian. It is a specimen of the popular history which was known as The Brut of England or The Brut because it began English history with the fable of Brutus. The Brut was, however, originally an Anglo-Norman chronicle, and the Latin version was so far from sharing the wide circulation of the French text and the English translation that of the 167 MSS. enumerated by Dr. Brie, the editor of the last-named, only the Lambeth chronicle and three others are in Latin.[2] This version ends with the

1. The only other possible interpretation of this passage would be that the writer, in copying a news letter from Spain, accidently retained a phrase unaltered.

2. F. W. D. Brie, *Geschichte und Quellen der mittelenglischen Prosachronik, The Brute of England*, p. 127 sqq. See also above p. 47. Dr. Brie's list is not, however, exhaustive. Other Latin MSS. are mentioned by Mr. C. L. Kingsford (*English Historical Literature in the Fifteenth Century*, p. 310).

death and burial of Harold in 1066, from which point it is continued in the Lambeth MS. with an independent Latin compilation headed: Conquestus regum Anglorum per Willelmum Ducem Normannorum. Of the sources used in this continuation down to 1327 nothing need be said here. The history of the reign of Edward III, as far as 1346, is taken almost verbally, with but very occasional and inconsiderable additions, from the Continuatio Chronicarum of Adam Murimuth. It is only in 1346, the last year in Murimuth's chronicle, that the compiler begins to use it with rather more freedom, and introduces one or two passages of some length from other sources, the most important of which is an account of the French preparations for the repulse of an English landing in the Cotentin. There is no entry for 1347, but the capture of Calais is anticipated under the previous year. With the notice of the Black Death the chronicle ceases to be dependent upon any known source. The entries which are of most interest during the next ten years are those dealing with the attempted surprise of Calais in January 1350, and with the composition of the French army at Poitiers. Down to this point the author has not revealed his connexion with Kent, except perhaps by his mention of lord Cobham and Sir Stephen de Cosington as accompanying the prince of Wales to Gascony in 1355. Nor does it appear in his full account of the prince's home-coming with his royal prisoner two years later, for they landed at Plymouth. But with the arrival of the cardinals shortly after, he begins to notice the movements of the great personages who passed through Canterbury so frequently during the next few years.[1] At Canterbury he had many opportunities of acquiring authentic information with regard to what was happening in the world without. His account of what M. Delachenal has called the First Treaty of London, concluded on 8 May 1358, is much the best that survives from the English side. The description of the second visitation of the plague, in

1. See above p. 67.

1361, though brief, is fuller than those found in other chronicles (p. 212). Archbishop Islip's reluctance to marry the Black Prince and Joan of Kent is of some interest. The duke of Anjou's breach of parole in 1363 is also narrated with an unusual amount of detail, and the author has preserved the only copy that we have of the official or semi-official list of the French casualties at Auray in 1364. His transcript of the similar list for Najera three years later is more correct than that given by Reading. But he lingers longest over the comings and goings which kept Canterbury interested and excited in that busy period. If it were not for him, we should not know that the count of Flanders took advantage of his visit to Dover in October 1364, when the treaty of marriage between his daughter and Edmund of Langley was signed, to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of St. Thomas the Martyr.

As a chronicler the monk of Christ Church compares favourably with Reading. He shows none of that writer's prejudice and superstition, unless the story of the portent before Crécy be counted against him. Though without the wider outlook and literary skill of Murimuth or Avesbury, he tells a straightforward tale grammatically and intelligibly. His dates, with some conspicuous exceptions, are almost pedantically accurate, and some of the slips may be due to mistakes of transcription.

The only manuscript of the Brutus chronicle, with the continuation down to 1367, in its full form is contained in MS. No. 99 in the library of Lambeth Palace. It is a small folio on parchment with double columns. The first page and many initial letters are illuminated, and the beginnings of paragraphs are marked in red or blue. It is written throughout in one hand of late fourteenth century character and not earlier than 1378, which is the last date of one of its items, the chronicle of Roman emperors. There are no titles in the text, but a short table of contents has been inserted, in which the Lambeth librarian, the Rev. C. Jenkins, has detected the hand of archbishop Sancroft. The

following account of its contents is abbreviated from that given in Todd's Catalogue (1812).[1]:

1. Brutus, sive de gestis Anglorum historia ab ipsis gentis incunabulis ad annum 1367 - f. 1
2. Historia Pontificum Romanorum a Sancto Petro usque ad Urbanum VI - - - f. 60

   [There is an error here. The history ends with the election of Gregory XI in 1370, but the scribe wrote Urbanus XI, his mind running on the previous pope Urban V, and a later hand carelessly corrected the XI to VI.]

3. Historia Imperatorum Romanorum a Julio Caesare ad Carolum IV - - - - f. 113
4. Vitae Archiepiscoporum Cantuariensium ab Augustino ad W. Wittlesey- - - - f. 129
5. Regum Saxonum et Normannorum Successio f. 152
6. Notitia Ecclesiastica - - - - - f. 153
7. Rogeri monachi Cestrensis Cosmographia - f. 158
8. Catalogus Sanctorum in Anglia pausantium et oriundorum - - - - - - - f. 187
9. Historia Controversiarum inter archiepiscopos Cantuarienses et Eboracenses - - - f. 197
10. Historia de Scotis et eorum origine et gestis usque ad annum 1368 - - - - - f. 203
11. Liber dictus Imago Mundi; agit de Geographia, Meteorologia et Astronomia - - f. 207
12. Tractatus de Willelmo Comite Normannorum et Conquestore Angliae - - - - f. 219
13. Epitaphia Tria Willelmi Conquestoris - - f. 224b.

The MS., as has been already mentioned, was in the Lambeth Library in archbishop Sancroft's time, when Wharton printed Nos. 4 and 9 in Anglia Sacra, but nothing

1. Todd, however, numbers the first four as one item, and adds at the end: "Harum quatuor historiarum verisimiliter est unus idemque auctor."

definite is known of its previous history. On a flyleaf facing f. 1 are the initials R.E., and on the *verso* of the last flyleaf at the end of the volume there is a note, unfortunately imperfect owing to the mutilation of the page, which contains the name Danvers and the date "anno domini 1455 et anno H[enrici] VI, 33°." This note may possibly record a change of ownership.

A very slight examination of the chronicle which forms the first item in the MS. suffices to establish the fact, which was already probable on other considerations, that it is not the holograph of the author, whether he was Birchington or another. The clearest proof of this is the great gap in the narrative, of nearly seven years, between May 1357 and January 1364. It is plainly not a deliberate omission of the author's, for the text runs on without a break, events of the two widely separated years being fused together. There is no difficulty in discovering the origin of this dislocation. The scribe having reached the bottom of the first column on f. 54b. with the description of the entry of the Black Prince and king John of France into London on Wednesday, 24 May 1357, accidentally turned over a leaf or two and, his eye lighting on a paragraph relating John's second visit to England in 1364, he went on with the sentence, "Die autem Jovis, continuando dietas suas venit Londonias," etc., which really refers to Thursday, 11 January 1364. By a piece of unexpected good fortune, it has been found possible to supply the missing narrative from another source. Wharton had already pointed out that in Cotton MS. Julius B. III there exists an abbreviated, but otherwise (save for a few unimportant additions[1]) very close, copy of the four histories which he ascribes to Birchington. The Cotton MS. is of later date than the Lambeth one, having been written apparently in the fifteenth century, but it contains a better

1. These seem to be most numerous in the early part of the chronicle of English history, which, as stated above, is a Latin version of the well-known Brut Chronicle (Brie, *op. cit.* p. 128).

text, and is clearly founded upon an older manuscript now lost, possibly the author's holograph. From it we have been able to fill up the unfortunate lacuna in the Lambeth MS., and luckily its narrative does not show signs of much, if any, abbreviation in this section. The Cotton MS. has also furnished a number of corrections in other parts of the text.[1] In the footnotes its readings are distinguished by the letter J, those of the Lambeth MS. by the letter L.

Cotton MS. Julius B. III, is a small folio on paper, containing six items which are described on a flyleaf as follows:—

1. Chronica a Christo de papis et imperatoribus ad Ludovicum Bavarum - - - - f. 3

   [This contains in succession abbreviations of items (2) and (3) of the Lambeth MS. To the former is appended a list of the Roman cardinals (f. 25b). The latter begins on f. 26 with a short genealogy from Adam downwards, which is wanting in the Lambeth MS.[2] The two texts begin to agree on f. 27 with 'Julius Caesar qui et Cayus,' etc.]

2. Chronica de archiepiscopis Cantuariensibus ab Augustino ad Willelmum Wittlesey - f. 31

   [A shortened form of item (4) in the Lambeth MS.]

3. Provinciale Romanum - - - - - f. 42b.

   [A list of the subject sees of Rome.]

4. Reliquiae in Ecclesia Lateranensi - - - f. 51
5. De Denariis Petri in Anglia - - - f. 51
6. Chronica a Bruto ad transfretationem Edwardi Principis in Guasconiam - - - f. 51b—115b

   [Item (1) of the Lambeth MS. abbreviated.]

1. Wharton printed the most important of its various readings in the Vitae archiepiscoporum Cantuariensium in *Anglia Sacra*, p. lx.
2. Its *incipit* is: "Adam cum esset 130 annorum genuit Seth."

No author's name is mentioned in any of the tracts, but a later note at the foot of f. 3 and another on the opposite flyleaf ascribe them to William Rede, a scholar of much repute in his time and a great benefactor of Merton College, Oxford, who became bishop of Chichester in 1368 and died in 1385. The note on the flyleaf gives a reference to f. 25 in the lives of the popes, where Rede's promotion to Chichester by bull of Urban V is recorded, and his previous dignities are enumerated. This entry in itself, however, does not seem to be evidence of his authorship, since it is found in the Lambeth MS. (f. 112b), and therefore presumably in the original tract which was copied by the Lambeth scribe and abbreviated in the Cotton MS. If Wharton's view of the single authorship of the four histories be correct, this tract was the work of a monk of Christ Church, Canterbury.

Better support for the ascription of the Cotton MS. abbreviations to bishop Rede is afforded by the fact, pointed out by Mr. Kingsford in his article[1] on Rede in the Dictionary of National Biography, that Thomas Allen, the mathematician and antiquary (d. 1632), whose autograph is on f. 3 of the MS., had in his possession other books which had belonged to the bishop. From Allen the MS. passed to his friend Sir Kenelm Digby, whose bold signature it also bears and who, according to another note on f. 3, seems to have presented it to Sir Robert Cotton in 1630.

Wharton made a transcript of the chronicle of English history in the Lambeth MS., omitting the Brut chronicle proper and beginning with the Norman conquest. This with copies of several books of Henry of Huntingdon and of the so-called Benedictus Abbas de Gestis Henrici II, all in his neat, closely-spaced handwriting, is now Harley MS. 4321 in the British Museum. It begins at f. 108 and ends

1. Mr. Kingsford does not seem aware in this article of the relation of the tracts in the Cotton MS. to those in Lambeth MS. 99, and regards them as original works of Rede.

on f. 157. Wharton has headed it: "Stephani Birchington, monachi Cantuariensis, Historia de Regibus Angliae post Conquaestum." Above the heading, in the hand of Humphry Wanley, is the date "24 die Martii A.D. 1723-4," which also occurs in the same position at the beginning of the other two transcripts in the volume. In his diary Wanley notes under that date that Robert Harley, earl of Oxford, to whom he was "library-keeper," had sent in some time before, 'being bought of Mr. Bateman,' these and three other MSS. in Wharton's hand (Lansdowne MS. 772, f. 27).[1] The transcript from the Lambeth MS. leaves something to be desired in point of accuracy, and curiously enough, though Wharton knew and used Cotton MS. Julius B. III, there is no indication in this transcript that he had noticed the gap 1357–64 in the manuscript he was following, or that he was aware that the missing section was preserved in the Cotton MS.

1. I owe this reference to Mr. Gilson.

APPENDIX A.

(p. 18.)

EXTRACTS FROM THE ANONYMOUS MIDDLE SECTION (1325–45) OF THE WESTMINSTER CHRONICLE IN COTTON MS. CLEOPATRA A. XVI.

[The first three folios or so of this section of the Westminster chronicle (ff. 141–142b) are printed at the end of the Rolls edition of the Flores Historiarum (III. 232–5). From the rest only such passages are given here as contain additions to, or alterations of the text of Murimuth and Avesbury, these chroniclers being in the main followed by the compiler. Alterations and brief additions are indicated by the use of italics, passages which do not occur at all in the compiler's sources are printed in Roman type.]

Igitur *in Conversione Sancti Pauli Apostoli,* apud Westmonasterium, dictus dominus Edwardus, *princeps Angliae et dux Aquitanniae* a venerabili patre Waltero, Cantuariensi archiepiscopo [coronatus est], *praesentibus omnibus episcopis, abbatibus aliisque praelatis, proceribus etiam regni paucis in vita relictis* . . . Rogeri de [Mortuo] mari *proditoris* . . ff. 142b–143.

[The compiler substitutes (perhaps from Avesbury, p. 283) 25 January, the day from which Edward's reign was reckoned, for 1 February, the actual date of the coronation as given in Murimuth, p. 51, and Hemingburgh, II. 297. The other sentences italicised are not in Murimuth.]

Postea quia videbatur multis quod dominus rex pater nimis delicate ducebatur, *consilio uxoris suae aliorumque nephandorum* . . . . Cui *maledicta* regina indumenta . . transmisit. f. 143 [cp. Murim., p. 52.]

Non quo voluit sed quo noluit *a dictis proditoribus* duce-

batur. Dominus autem novus rex, *se videns illusum a matre* . . . f. 143. [cp. Murim., pp. 52–3.]

Idem rex nono kalendas Februarii dominam Philippam filiam comitis Hannoniae duxit in uxorem, quae in Purificatione beatae Mariae apud Westmonasterium in reginam Angliae coronatur. f. 143b.

[The date of the king's marriage in the text (Sunday 24 January, 1328) is confirmed by The Brut (p. 254), probably from Packington's chronicle now lost. Knighton (I. 446) and Hemingburgh (II. 300) place it on 25 January, but Walsingham (*Hist. Angl.* I. 192) corrects the latter. On the other hand, the date given for the queen's coronation can hardly be right. Hemingburgh (II. 301) and a document in the Foedera (II. 781) agree that it took place in 1330 and on a Sunday, though the first puts it on 25 February and the second on the 18th of the same month. Most modern writers say 4 March, but their authority is not clear.]

David, filius Roberti Bruys, dominam Johannam, sororem regis Angliae, *xvi kalendas Augusti* accepit in uxorem et rex juvenis, ductus consilio matris *quorundamque proditorum,* cartam fecit Scotis. f. 143b.

[Murimuth (p. 56) has not the date. Hemingburgh (II. 300) followed by Historia Anglicana (I. 192) gives 12 July, but the date in our text, 17 July, seems correct (*Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, XXIX. 390).]

Moriebatur dominus Edwardus, quondam rex Angliae, quomodo vel quali morte fama confessioque carnificum manifestavit quod in lecto tabulis oppressus, cornu accepit violenter in ano per medium quoque veru ferreum in visceribus, sicque cruciatus expiravit. f. 144.

[cp. Hemingburgh, II. 298, Geoffrey le Baker (p. 33) and *Hist. Anglicana,* I. 189. Murimuth (pp. 53-4) knew no details, or suppressed them.]

Johannes Mautravers *postea injustam pacem obtinuit.* f. 144.

[When Murimuth wrote (p. 54), Maltravers was still

in banishment. He was allowed to return to England in August 1345 (*Dict. Nat. Biogr.*, XXXVI, 7).]

Alii vero accusati [along with the earl of Kent in 1330] dimissi fuerunt sub manucaptione, videlicet episcopus Londoniensis *et Willelmus de la Souch*. f. 145.

[Zouch is not mentioned by Murimuth (p. 60).]

Willelmo de Montacuto, *comite Sarisburiae*. f. 145.

[The title, which is not in Murimuth (p. 63), is an anachronism. Montacute did not become earl of Salisbury until 13 March 1337.]

Turpiter ceciderunt, sed illaesae. f. 145.

[Describing the fall of queen Philippa and her ladies "de quadam machina" at a tournament in Cheapside; cp. Murimuth, p. 63.]

Captus fuit *ille proditor multorum* dominus Rogerus de Mortuomari . . f. 145. [cp. Murim., p. 61.]

Eu ! non scribas vel doctores sed scriptores vel cantores promovent regales. f. 146.

[Substituted for Murimuth's remark (p. 60) on Ralph Wyville's want of qualifications for the bishopric of Salisbury, which he received in 1330.]

Quorum numerus occisorum [Scots at Halidon Hill] per aestimationem nonaginta milia excessit *et Anglorum tredecim, quorum unus miles, armiger unus et pedites undecim*. f. 147.

[The English losses are not given by Murimuth (p. 68).]

Transtulit et hoc anno [1333] dominus papa in capite *Septembris, exenniis, pecunia mediantibus*, de Wigornia, vacante per postulatum Cantuariensis Wyntonia, magistrum Adam Horltone, tunc praesentem *in curia*. f. 147.

[September is apparently a mistake for December. See Murimuth (p. 70) who says that Orlton was in France on an embassy to Philip VI, but does not mention his being at Avignon.]

Quo anno [1333], xvi kalendas Julii, peperit regina filiam, apud Woodstok, vocatam Isabellam. f. 147.

[The year of Isabella's birth is usually given as 1332. See *Dict. of Nat. Biogr., s.v.*]

Hiemavit idem rex apud *Kirkbrigge* in Scotia, *ubi tunc castrum reparavit.* f. 147.

[Erroneously referred to the winter of 1333-4, which Edward spent at Wallingford and York (Murim., pp. 71-2). Kirkbrigge (Kylbrigge, *Brut,* p. 291) seems to stand for Roxburgh, where he passed the Christmas of 1334 (Murim., p. 74). Later, however (f. 148), he is said to have wintered in 1334-5 near "the town of St. John," *i.e.*, Perth. Edward was at Perth in the summer of 1335 and again in that of 1336, but never wintered there. The Westminster writer may perhaps have misunderstood Avesbury, p. 298.]

O infelix pecunia, quae citius regium favorem atque papalem attrahis et actorem tuum promoves quam litterarum scientia vel bona conversatio. f. 147b.

[This outburst was provoked by the papal action in quashing the election of Robert de Graystanes to the bishopric of Durham, though he had been consecrated [1333], and providing the king's candidate Richard de Bury (Murim., p. 71).]

Creditur sophistice praemissa machinari, ut populares detrahendi causam non haberent pro quintadecima, ad minus tamen regi dedecus. f. 148.

[Archbishop Stratford went to France in October 1334, professedly to arrange for the proposed joint crusade of Philip and Edward. The parliament of September this year granted a fifteenth for the Scottish war. (Murim., pp. 72-3).]

Scoti tamen [ad] adventum suum in longitudine Scotici Maris ad spatium XII miliarium fossata praepararunt pro exercitu ejus impediendo, quae refluxo mari rex omnia repleri et destrui fecit. f. 148.

[This incident, which is not in Murimuth (p. 74), seems to have occurred at the close of 1334, during the operations

for the relief of an unnamed castle in which Henry de Beaumont was besieged by the Scots.]

Qui ecclesiam Angliae, extorquendo primas fructus beneficiorum vacantium et concedendo decimas, ancillavit; quamplures tamen devotiones et orationes composuit et dicentibus indulgentiam concessit. f. 148b.

[John XXII died 4 December, 1334 (Murim., p. 74).]

Qui anno pontificatus tertio pro statu monachorum constitutiones edidit gravissimas, et contravenientes poenis ac censuris innodavit, quibus papa Clemens sextus misericors indulsit, poenas ac censuras suspendendo. f. 148b.

[Benedict XII was elected pope on 20 December, 1334 (Murimuth, p. 74). For his monastic constitutions cf. Polychron., VIII, 332.]

Apparuit et hoc anno [1336] cometes diversis partibus coeli in mensibus Junii et Julii; sequebatur frugalitas et rerum copia venalium in tantum quod res justi pretii vix medietatem valuerunt, videlicet quarterium frumenti ii*s.* vi*d.*, unus bos vi*s.* viii*d.*, v pulli columbarum i*d.*, quoniam magna erat æris inopia. f. 149.

[Translated in the Brut (ed. Brie, p. 292) which, however gives the price of the quarter of corn as 2*s.*, and reads "*good fatte* ox." In these points it agrees with an entry in the Polychronicon (VIII, 334) under 1339 (*rectius* 1340) which is almost too similar to refer to a different year of plenty. If so, either the Westminster compiler or Higden must have misplaced it.]

Quo anno [1336] domina regina peperit filium, apud Hatfeld, vocatum Willelmum, qui sepelitur apud Eboracum. f. 149.

Et *in vigilia Exaltationis Sanctae Crucis* ejusdem anni in Scotia obiit dominus Johannes de Eltham, comes Cornubiae et frater domini regis Angliae, *qui in vigilia* [Epiphaniae [1]] *anno proximo sequenti* apud Westmonasterium *in Capella*

1. Supplied from opening paragraph of 1337.

Sancti Thomae sepelitur. *Evolutisque septem annis, ad petitionem matris suae reginae Isabellae, ammotus de dicto loco in medio ecclesiae praedictae inter duas columpnas marmoreas majores collocatur. Iterumque jussu dominae supradictae ad priorem locum transfertur. Cibus ille potusve horumque minister inter felices non numerenter, qui, ut vulgo dicebatur, tam validum subito militem extinxerunt.* f. 149b.

[The date here given for John of Eltham's death, 13 September, is in all probability wrong. Murimuth (p. 78) and Hemingburgh (II. 312) agree that he died in October (in fine mensis Octobris,—Heming.). As to the date of his burial Murimuth merely says that the king returned to London for the funeral about Epiphany [6 Jan.], 1337. The temporary removal of his monument, which is figured by Sandford (*Genealogical History of the Kings of England,* p. 154), is only recorded here. The chapel of St. Edmund on the south side of the chancel, where it has long stood, was originally dedicated to St. Thomas of Canterbury and St. Edmund (*Westm. Munim.*, 24,665).

The rumour that John's death was not altogether a natural one does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere, and was probably only an inference from his youth—he was just twenty years of age.]

Igitur Dominica mediae Quadragesimae in parliamento prius incepto exiit sermo inter proceres de jure domini regis in regno Franciae causa matris suae, asserente rege se nec posse nec velle absque communi consilio et auxilio tam ardua attemptare. At ubi, praehabita deliberatione, concessum est, tunc praesentes, tam clerus quam populus, in expeditionem tanti negotii se et sua promiserunt. f. 149b.

[This discussion in parliament on Mid Lent Sunday (30 March) 1337 is an addition to Murimuth's narrative (p. 79).]

Quo anno [1338], *in vigilia Sancti Andreae Apostoli* [29 Nov.], in villa praedicta [Antwerp] natus est dominus Leonellus, filius dicti regi Angliae. f. 150.

[This may be the source of the date in Walsingham, *Hist. Angl.*, I. 223.]

[After an account, taken from Polychron., VIII. 334, of Edward's demand of a fifth of moveables and the ninth sheaf in the parliament of March 1340 (here as in Polychron. placed under 1339), the writer proceeds] et omnia obtinuit pro velle suo, per quae, ut verum fatear, amor anterior vertitur in odium et orationes in maledictionem, quia populares nimis gravantur. f. 150. [Translated in the Brut (ed. Brie), p. 293.]

[Edward III in 1340 assumes the royal title and arms of France] jussitque consequenter monetam auream sub descriptione nomine Angliae et Franciae fieri optimam, florenos videlicet, primum dictum nobile pretii vi*s* viii*d* sterlingorum, alterum vero iii*s* iiii*d* valentem, tertium autem xx*d*. f. 151.

[The Brut (p. 294) has 'noble,'' "half-noble" and "ferthing" with the values as above.]

Dum praemissa agerentur, domina regina Philippa, commorans [apud] Gandavum, peperit filium *circa mensem Novembris*, et dictus est Johannes. f. 151.

[This entry is placed under 1339, but Murimuth (p. 104) is no doubt right in dating John of Gaunt's birth in March 1340.]

Ibi conflictum habuit [battle of Sluys] . . . *post meridiem continuatum usque ad horam tertiam in crastino* . . . Pluribus *discopulatis* navibus in fugam reversis. ff. 151–151b.

[According to Murimuth (p. 106) the battle began "cito post horam nonam" and "duravit usque mane" (p. 107). With "discopulatis," cp. the "Naves Gallicorum fuerunt concatenatae, ita quod non poterant divelli ab invicem" of Baker (p. 68).]

Hoc anno [1340] in Turri Londoniarum peperit domina regina filiam nominatam Blanchiam, quae lactans obiit; sepelitur Westmonasterii. f. 151b.

[The date is plainly too early if Murimuth correctly dates

the birth of John of Gaunt in March of this year and barely possible if John was born in November 1339, as our chronicler asserts (see above). Probably Blanche was born in 1341.] recte 1343.

Evadens Dei misericordia pericula, venit noctanter ad Turrim Londoniarum; dominos Johannem Molyns et Johannem de Stafford [? Stratford] aliosque plures, qui pecunias ad praedictum obsidionem [of Tournay] sibi mittere tardabant, ibidem incarcerari jussit, quorum postea excusationes ut audivit et preces, pietate motus paulatim reatus indulsit. f. 152.

[The writer must have had some other source than Murimuth (p. 117) for the king's surprise visit to the Tower in the night of 30 Nov. 1340, for the latter chronicler omits the name of Molyns; cp. G. le Baker, p. 72. Misled by the Polychronicon (VIII, 336), the Westminster compiler places this incident on the king's return from his campaign in Brittany, which really took place in March 1343. Edward's remonstrance with the Virgin on his stormy passages from France, which the Polychronicon (VIII, 344) inserts under 1346, is here transferred to the voyage from Brittany.]

Anno gratiae millesimo CCC°XLII° . . . nonis Junii domina Philippa regina apud Langele peperit filium vocatum Edmundum. f. 152.

[The birth of Edmund of Langley is usually dated 5 June 1341, on the authority of Chronicon Angliae, p. 12, and Walsingham, Historia Anglicana, I, 253. But the St. Albans compiler, who adds that Edmund was baptised by Michael, abbot of his own house, has clearly made a mistake in the year. John of Gaunt was born in March 1340, and since then Philippa had borne a daughter Blanche, so that Edmund's birth cannot be placed before 1342, as in the text, which is followed by the continuator of Murimuth (p. 174).]

Dominus autem rex circa idem tempus [June 1342], *habito consilio apud Westmonasterium cum majoribus Angliae,* recepit homagium domini Johannis de Monteforti pro

ducatu Britanniae, fratris germani domini Johannis quondam ducis ibidem sine legitimo herede de corpore suo nuper defuncti, tunc superstite praedicto Johanne fratre germano, ipsum vassallum suum juvare volens contra dominum Karolum de Blois qui desponsavit filiam alterius fratris germani qui, dicto Johanne vivente, decessit, in mense Octobris transfretavit in Britanniam et militans ibidem quamplures dominia, villas, castra et munitiones sibi reddita obtinuit. Deinde villam de Vanes obsedit cui supervenit Phillippus de Valesio in fortitudine magna, nolens tamen appropinquare donec, mediantibus cardinalibus, treugae capiebantur. Et contractae sunt sub data in Prioratu de Malestrete xix die Januarii, *dicta villa de Vanes regi Angliae remanente subjecta;* et expletis aliis in partibus illis, rex Angliae repatriare disposuit. ff. 152—152b.

[The greater part of this passage seems to be taken from Avesbury, pp. 339–40, 344-8, but the sentences italicised come from some other source.]

Eodem anno [1342] circa Nativitatem beatae Mariae Northamptoniae celebratum fuit capitulum generale Nigrorum monachorum, praesidentibus dominis abbatibus Thoma de Henle[y] Westmonasterii et Michaele Sancti Albani, devotis valde atque religiosis, et fratre Johanne priore[1] Sanctae Mariae Eboraci; per quos statutum est dicere preces quotidie ad primam etiam completorium a diu omissas per consilium stultorum, ac celebrare solempniter imperpetuum festa beati Benedicti Abbatis, et memoriam fieri de eodem per totum ordinem praedictum ad vesperas et laudes in confessione generali ac tabulam trium lectionum, quotiens commode poterit, singulis septimanis habere de eodem. f. 152b.

[Pope Benedict XII, himself a monk, was zealous, as already seen (p. 81), for monastic reform. One of his measures was to abolish the two provinces into which

1. MS. devoti valde atque religiosi et frater Johannes, prior.

hitherto the English Benedictines had been divided and to revive General Chapters meeting at Northampton. Michael de Mentmore, abbot of St. Albans, was the pope's chief instrument in carrying out this reform, but the chronicler puts his own abbot first. The first of these chapters at Northampton was held in July 1338 (Flete, *Hist. of Westminster Abbey*, p. 126). For a later one in 1363 see below, p. 159. Part of the above passage is copied by the continuator of Murimuth (p. 174).]

Cui [regi] ad Angliam velificanti horridae tempestates adeo supervenerunt ut suorum naufragia hominum ac mortem circa se dolenda videret et plures aegrotantes pro quibus pullos carnesque recentes reservari jussit et sibi salsas. Ipse vero, divina pietate ductus, inter ripas vocatas Anglice Raas, nautis desperatis et navium armamentis attritis, illaesus evasit. ff. 152b—153. [Cp. Murim., p. 135, and Avesbury, p. 352.]

Hoc anno [1343] iiii Kalendas Novembris obiit frater Thomas de Henle, vir perfectae religionis, devotus, simplex, justus, misericors atque ab omnibus qui noverunt eum praedilectus. Qui multas tribulationes in praelatia, qui litigiis, occisione suorum apud Pershore et captione ac praedatione hominum, quae mortem suam causabant, sustinuit. Tempore cujus tunc Thesaurarius Angliae, spiritu nequam excitatus, jurisdictionem in hospitali Sancti Jacobi, de parochia Sanctae Margaretae juxta Westmonasterium vendicabat, ea causa, quia abbates dicti loci thesaurarii regni ab olim tempore officii sui plenam jurisdictionem in eodem hospitali exercuerunt. Unde motus pastor ipse fidelis opponens se murum pro domo Domini breve contra thesaurarium [1] causa dicti officii impetravit, et habens secum patriam fidelissimam placitavit. Qui dixerunt per sacramentum suum coram justiciariis regni abbates Westmonasterii, a prima fundatione dicti hospitalis, plenum jus ac jurisdictionem continuam correctionesque capitulares semper habuisse, habere et debere et nullum praeter eos [2]

1. MS. regem.
2. MS. eum.

virtute alicujus officii in eadem. Sed mortuo hiis diebus dicto abbate, pendebat placitum, teste tota patria finitum, absque judicio dato; ad quod successores multo tempore parum aut nichil fecerunt. Cui successit Symon de Byrchestone, monachus Westmonasteriensis. f. 153.

[It is curious that a Westminster chronicler should have ante-dated the death of abbot Henley by a year. He died on 29 October 1344 (Flete, *Hist. of Westm.*, pp. 126, 128; cf. *Cal. Pat. R.*, 1343-5, pp. 358, 365). Of the frays in which his men were engaged at Pershore no other record has been found, but on 16 Feb. 1344, a commission of oyer and terminer was issued on the complaint of Sir John del Isle that abbot Henley with his fellow-monk brother Richard de Winchester, and others had entered his close at Mulsham in Essex, broke his chests there, carried away his goods with twenty charters and other muniments and assaulted and imprisoned his servants (*Cal. Pat. R.*, 1343-5, p. 281). For the litigation in 1342 with William de Cusauncia, the Treasurer who claimed jurisdiction over St. James's Hospital see below p. 345, and Flete (*op. cit.*, pp. 125-6). Verbal identities in the two accounts show that Flete had our text before him, but he adds details from the record of the trial. See also Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1340-3, p. 457.]

Anno gratiae millesimo CCC°XLIIII, papae Clementis secundo, regni regis Edwardi tertii xviii°, idem rex statim post Nativitatem Domini contulit dominae reginae vacationem Westmonasterii, quam conventus ejusdem, mediante fratre Nicholao de Litlyngton qui bona semper procuravit eisdem, redemit de manu reginae quingentis marcis. Et quoniam a diu dominus Dispensarius permissione mala seu licentia abbatum dicti loci feras ac venationes habens in foresta de Corfus, pleno jure hereditario praedictae ecclesiae ab antiquo pertinente, primo conviviis ac solatiis postea minis et terroribus fraudulenter usus consilio, miles ipse tenentes ac homines praedicti abbatis aliosque patriotas, inducta fallaci consuetudine, quasi nomine abbatis Westmonasterii ad curias suas ibidem convenire coegit. Consequenter ipsum abbatem ac homines suos ne meremium, boscum seu focalia pro necessitatibus

suis, ut olim consueverunt, prosternerent saepissime impedivit, ac alia gravia tam in homines quam in bestias exercuit. Unde monachi praedictae ecclesiae domino regi ac reginae de injuriis suae ecclesiae, sibi et hominibus suis per dictum dominum et ejus ministros incessanter illatis, praesente milite, conquerebantur. Cui dominus rex dedignanter praecepit a talibus dolose inceptis et introductis deinceps quiescere, mandans per breve escaetoribus de partibus illis et ministris conventus Westmonasteriensis natis abbatem plenum jus et dominium decetero exercere, ut olim consueverant, et continuare. Quod in brevi tam amore quam timore cessavit. f. 153b.

[Queen Philippa obtained a grant of the custody of the temporalities of the abbey during the voidance on 31 Oct. 1344, two days after Henley's death, but renounced it a month later because the custody had been committed to William de Kellesey [king's], clerk, on the day the abbot died (*Cal. Pat. R.*, 1343-5, p. 358. The queen's interest revived, however, for on 2 February 1345, the custody was transferred to Roger Basset "on condition that he answer to queen Philippa for all issues and profits thereof, pursuant to a grant of these to her by the king (*ibid.*, p. 432). Neither the rolls nor Flete mention the buying out of the queen by Litlington, and the statement in the text is probably an error. Litlington bought the profits of the vacancy after the death of the next abbot, Bircheston, in 1349, and the writer may have confused the two occasions.]

Hoc anno [1344] vii Idus Octobris domina Philippa regina peperit filiam Maria dictam. f. 154.

[The birth of Edward III's third daughter, who was afterwards married to the duke of Brittany and died in 1361 (below, p, 150), is copied without the day and month by the continuator of Murimuth (p. 174).]

Alia notanda pauca bona hoc anno [1344] fuerunt, Anglici tum insaniae alienigenarum adhaerentes velut de adventu Hannonensium, annis quasi xviii praeelapsis, annuatim varias deformitates vestium mutantes, longorum

largorumque indumentorum antiqua honestate deserta, vestibus curtis, strictis, frustratis, scissis, omni parte laqueatis, corrigiatis, botonatis cum manicis ac tipeitis supertunicarum et caputiorum nimis pendulis, tortoribus et, ut verius dicam, daemonibus tam indumentis quam calciamentis similiores quam hominibus. Et si clerici seu religiosi aliquibus dictorum usi sunt, non regulares sed irregulares judicentur. Mulieres enim in praedictis et aliis curiosius fluxerunt, adeo stricte vestitae, ut ad anos celandos caudas vulpinas vestibus inferius consutas penderent. Quorum forte superbia futuris praetendit infortunia. f. 154.

[For a similar outburst by Reading against the fashions of a period twenty years later see below, p. 167, and the note, p. 328. The passage beginning "vestibus curtis . ." is thus translated in the Brut chronicle (p. 297): "and another tyme schorte clothis and stret-wasted, dagged and ket, and on every side desslatered and boned, with sleves and tapets of sircotys and hodes overe longe and large, and overmuche hangynde, that if y soth schal say, they were more liche to turmentours and devels in hire clothing and schewyng and other arraye then to men."]

Annot gratiae millesimo CCC°XLV° . . . . consulto eodem rege cum majoribus Angliae immediate post Pascha dominus Henricus comes de Derbey militari probitate praedictorumque consilio . . . . in Vasconiam transfretavit et salvo applicatis omnibus, quieverunt prope litora maris paucis diebus ibidem, etc. [following more closely Avesbury's narrative (pp. 356-7) of Derby's campaign in Gascony to the end]. ff. 154—154b.

[After this comes Reading's preface (below, p. 99). The compiler's additions to Avesbury here are unimportant. If the date is given as that of Derby's sailing and not of the council in which it was decided to send him to Gascony, it is certainly incorrect, for he did not sail until July [1]

1. He was to have sailed in June, and this is the date usually given—as *e.g.*, by the writer of the life of Derby in the Dict. of Nat. Biogr.—but M. Bertrandy has shown that his departure was deferred by bad weather.

(*Foedera,* III, 58; Bertrandy, *Guerre de Guienne, 1345—1346* (Etude sur les Chroniques de Froissart), p. 27). Easter in 1345 fell on 27 March, and Derby's appointment as the king's lieutenant in Aquitaine bore date 10 May (*Foedera,* III, 37). Froissart (ed. Luce, III, 44, 46) makes him land at Bayonne and stay a week there and about five days at Bordeaux before beginning his campaign.]

APPENDIX B.

(p. 52).

ADDITION TO THE CHARACTER OF EDWARD III AS GIVEN IN THE CONTINUATIONS OF THE POLYCHRONICON AND MURIMUTH (p. 227).

Quis illo natalibus insignior, quippe qui regis Anglorum et Isabellae, filiae et heredis regis Francorum, primogenitus, olim vivens legitime dicere potuit: Rex sive regnorum bina ratione duorum, Anglorum cerno me regem jure paterno, matris jure quidem Francorum rex vocor idem. Sed fautoria persuasione haud operatus est ingenue, quia nemo praedecessorum suorum, ut ipse, per satellites ancipites plebeis sui regni sic fuit infestus propter impositiones et exactiones quasi intollerabiles seu tallagia et tributa gravia, ab invito vulgo frumentum, avenas, foenum, stramen, cariagia, altilia, et victualia sibi necessaria auferendo pro se et matre sua diu superstite, pro regina et principe, similiter pro ceteris suis septem liberis et pro singulorum praemissorum domesticis, praecipue in partibus australibus quas frequenter inhabitaverant ubi protectionis litera non prærogaret.

Brit. Mus. Addit. MS. 12118, f. 157.

Chronological Summary of Reading's Chronicle.

[Where events are misdated by Reading, the correct date is given within brackets.]

1346.

Great Council at Westminster, p. 99 .—Campaign of Crécy, pp. 99-101.—The earl of Derby's invasion of Saintonge and Poitou, p. 101.—Birth of Margaret, daughter of Edward III, p. 102.—Battle of Neville's Cross, p. 102.—Grief of Queen Joan of Scotland, p. 103.—Royal charter to the convent of Westminster (1347), p. 103.—Nicholas of Litlington's services to the house, p. 103.

1347.

Siege of Calais, p. 104.—Battle of La Roche-Derrien, p. 104.—Surrender of Calais, p. 105.—The king's stormy passage home and complaint to the Virgin, p. 105.

1348.

The Plague in the East, p. 106.—Heavy rains and pestilence in Western Europe, p. 106.

1349.

Attempted surprise of Calais (1350), pp. 107-8.—The Plague and pope Clement's indulgence, p. 108.—Deaths of leading men, p. 108.—Moral and economic effects of the Plague, p. 109.—Its' effect upon children's dentition, p. 110.

1350.

Year of Jubilee, p. 110.—Evils of the time, p. 110.—Battle of 'Espagnols-sur-Mer,' p. 111.—Canonization (Translation) of St. Thomas Cantilupe (1349), p. 112.—Duel at Westminster, p. 112.—The Flagellants, p. 112.—Death of Archbishop Bradwardine, p. 112.

1351.

New coinage, p. 113.

1352.

Council at Westminster, p. 114.—Siege of Rennes (1357) and battle of Mauron, pp. 114-5.—Resignation of bishop

Heath of Rochester (1349), p. 115.—Papal appropriation of the churches of Sawbridgworth and Kelvedon to Westminster Abbey (1351), p. 116.—Death of pope Clement VI, p. 116.—Dearth, p. 116.—Marriage of Maud of Lancaster to William count of Zealand, p. 116.

1353.

Parliament; Statute of Labourers, etc. (1351), p. 117.—Drought and Dearth; corn sent by William of Zealand (? 1352), p. 117.—Henry of Lancaster created duke, and an earldom bestowed on Ralph of Stafford (1351), p. 118.

1354.

Futile negotiations for peace, p. 118.—The Staple for wool recalled to England (1353), p. 119.—Franciscans burnt at Avignon (1355), p. 119.—Abortive duel between Henry of Lancaster and Otto of Brunswick (1352), p. 119.—English knights invite challengers of Edward III's right to the crown of France (1352), p. 120.

1355.

The Black Prince sent to Aquitaine, p. 120.—Pilgrimage of the king and prince to various shrines, p. 120.—Edward III gives the head of St. Benedict to Westminster Abbey (1358), p. 120.—Departure of the prince, and his raid into Languedoc, p. 121.—The king's raid from Calais, p. 121.—Berwick captured by the Scots, p. 122.—Parliamentary grant, p. 122.—Birth of Thomas of Woodstock, p. 122.

1356.

Recovery of Berwick, p. 122.—Edward Balliol resigns his crown to Edward III, p. 123.—Edward's Coronation, p. 123.—March of the Black Prince to the Loire, p. 123.—Battle of Poitiers, p. 124.—List of French casualties, pp. 124-6.

1357.

Oxford Interdict withdrawn, p. 126.—Return of the Black Prince with his prisoners, and entry into London, p. 126.—Arrival of two cardinals to negotiate a peace, p. 127.—The Great Company, p. 127.—Destructive storm, p. 128.—Release of David Bruce, p. 128.—First Treaty of London (1358), p. 128.—Death and burial of Queen Isabella (1358), p. 128.—Jousts at Smithfield, p. 129.

1358.

Parliament, p. 129.—Troubles of Bishop Lisle of Ely, p. 129.—Great festivities at Windsor on St. George's day, king John's remark on them, p. 130.—Archbishop Fitz-Ralph and the Friars, p. 130.

1359.

Marriage of John of Gaunt followed by jousts at London and elsewhere, p. 131.—Failure of the second Treaty of London, p. 132.—New invasion of France, p. 132.—Edward III. fixes Westminster Abbey as his place of burial, p. 133.—Marches to Rheims, p. 133.—Miracle at Pontefract, p. 134.—Obituary of the year (1358-60), p. 134.

1360.

Edward III extorts a large ransom from Burgundy, p. 134.—French sack of Winchelsea, p. 134.—Edward III marches on Paris, p. 135.—Preparations for defence in England, p. 135.—Burden on the church, p. 135.—Edward III at the gates of Paris, p. 135.—English naval descent on the pays de Caux, p. 136.—First negotiations, p. 136.—Black Monday, p. 137.—The Treaty of Brétigny, pp. 137-8 .—List of hostages, p. 139.—Return of Edward III and liberation of king John, p. 139.—Great storm, p. 140.—Treaty of Calais, p. 140.—Noble brigandage, p. 147.—Death of archbishop Fitz-Ralph, p. 147.—Death of bishops and mortality among children and old people, p. 147.

1361.

Ratification of the peace in Parliament, p. 148.—Eclipse of the sun, drought and dearth, p. 148.—Portents, p. 149.—Prolonged summer, p. 149.—Episcopal changes, p. 149.—The second pestilence, p. 150.

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[CHRONICON JOHANNIS DE READING.]

Ab anno igitur gratiae MCCC^{mo}XXV^{o} hucusque, magister Adam Mirimouth, quondam legis peritus ac ecclesiae Sancti Pauli Londoniarum canonicus, praemissa chronicavit. Sequentia vero futuris noscere ac memorari, quidam frater Johannes de R[eading], monachus Westmonasteriensis, nomine tantum non conversatione perfecta, litera vacuus et ingenio, plus relatione vulgari quam propria consideratione seu literis magnatum instructus, ob prolixitatem actuum praesentium antiqua scripta nusquam allegans, gravi labore ac rudi modo contexuit,

Anno gratiae M^{o}CCC^{mo}XLVI^{to}, Clementis papae iiii^{o}, regni regis Edwardi tertii xx^{o}, idem rex, audito concordi consilio magnatum in parliamento congregato apud Westmonasterium ante Pascha de iterum inquietando rebelles Franciae, adunatis | que navibus f. 155. Avesbury, p. 357
et praeparatis, ingenti quoque exercitu convocato, xii die Julii in Normanniam transfretavit et apud Hogges applicuit; et indulta requie sex diebus pro labore maris ac hominibus cum necessariis e navibus educendis, versus Cadomum progrediens villam, quasi omnibus, itinerando circumquaque, igne consumptis, xxvi die Julii Avesb. p. 359
ad pontem Cadomi viriliter munitum conflictum cum Normannis habuit nimis fortem, quo maxima multitudo Normannorum in vicis, domibus et hortis interierunt. Et captivatis comite de Ew, domino Tankervilo centumque militibus ac hominibus

Avesb. p. 362 ad arma sexcentis, peditibus innumeratis, ad nudos usque parietes suburbium omnibus portabilibus et villa spoliata fuerunt.

Postea, transiens per patrias latitudine xx miliarium omnia devastavit. Philippus de Valesio talia perpendens, licet cum exercitu robusto prope fuisset, noluit appropinquare, immo pontes universos ultra Sicanam a Rothomago usque Parisius rumpi fecit
Avesb. p. 367 et ipse[1] cursu veloci dictam fugiens civitatem adivit. Nobilis vero rex Edwardus, veniens Pusianum,[2] pontem fractum ibidem infra biduum reparari fecit. Interim comes Northamtoniae, Sicanam transiens, pontis restructionem impedire nitentium quingentos interfecit. In crastino siquidem Assumptionis beatae Mariae dominus rex Edwardus, Sicanam pertransiens, versus Crescy
f. 155 b. pergendo, villas cum habitantibus | destruxit, et in festo Sancti Bartholomaei aquam de Summe, ubi antea transitus nec post unquam fuerat, cum toto exercitu suo illaesus transivit. Ubi transitum impedientium duo milia perempti sunt. Immediate dominus Dispensarius villam de Croteie,[3] occisis quadringentis hominibus armorum de Gallicis, viriliter cepit. Igitur xxvi die Augusti dominus rex Edwardus in campo juxta Crescy, tres habens Anglorum acies, Philippo de Valesio cum quatuor aciebus,
Avesb. p. 369 quarum minima numerum Anglorum excessit, obviavit. Congressisque partibus, ibidem ceciderunt rex Boemiae, dux Lorengiae,[4] comites etiam Dalasone[5] Flandriae,[6] Blois,[7] Harecourt,[8] Aumarle,[9] et Vivers[10] pluresque alii comites, barones, nobiles, milites et homines armorum numero mille quingenti xlii, peditibus ac ceteris armatis minime computatis. Retraxit se

1. Ipsi in MS.

2. So also in *Cont. Murim.*, p. 175, and *Chron. Angl.*, p. 22. Mistake for Pusiacum [Poissy].

3. *i.e.* Le Crotoy. 4. Raoul, duc de Lorraine (1328-1346). 5. Charles II de Valois, comte d'Alençon (1325-1346). 6. Louis I de Nevers. 7. Louis de Châtillon, comte de Blois. 8. Jean IV, comte de Harcourt. 9. Jean V de Harcourt, comte d'Aumale, but he was only wounded, (Froissart, ed. Luce, III, lxi). 10. Vivers] Nyvers, Brut; Nauvers, Avesbury. Conjectured by Sir E. M. Thompson to be a misspelling of Sancerre, whose count (Louis II) was killed.

cum residuo suorum praedictus Philippus inglorius; unde oriebatur in vulgo: "Noster beal retreit."[1] Dominus autem rex Edwardus et Anglici pro tanta victoria Deo gratias agentes, post nimium laborem sumptis vitae necessariis, armati propter hostes quieverunt ibidem. Et ecce summo mane redierunt cum ingenti exercitu Gallici Anglos rebellare. Quibus obviaverunt comites Warwik, Northamton' et Northfolke cum suis et, occisis duobus milibus militibus ac captivatis[2] pluribus nobilibus, reliquos dicti exercitus per tria miliaria fugarunt.

| Tertio quoque die post bellum, idem dominus rex Angliae f. 156
versus Calais proficiscitur, totam patriam vastando; quo per- Avesb. p. 372
veniens, quasi tertio die Septembris villam obsidere coepit cum castro, et continuavit ejus obsidionem usque ad tertium diem Augusti, anno revoluto. Quo die dictam villam sponte et invite sibi redditam obtinuit. Et receptis nobilioribus ad gratiam et voluntatem suam, populares cum suis portabilibus Avesb. p. 396
sub protectione sua misericorditer abire permisit. Quanta et qualia, cum tormentis ac machinis jactando lapides, assultibusque, congressu lancearum acutarum, pugnis navalibus ex parte marina ac gestis militaribus, ibidem medio tempore acta fuerant ob prolixitatem omittuntur, ad ea quae aliis in locis gesta sunt redeundo.

Eodem anno et mense, tenente consilium apud Brugerak Henrico, Avesb. p. 372
comite Derbeiae, filio Henrici quondam comitis Lancastriae, cum magnatibus suis, dominus Johannes, Philippi de Valesio intrusoris primogenitus, rumoribus de Caleis territus, qui per multa tempora

1. "That is to say, 'Our faire withdraweth hym.'"—Brut. ed. Brie [E.E.T,S.]. p. 299; "Quae fuga vocatur a Gallis vulgariter '*Beu Retret*' usque in hodiernum diem" (*Ypodigma Neustriae*, p. 287).

2. Captivis, MS.

villam de Aguilon[1] obsederat, petiit treugas nec obtinuit. Qui protinus, relictis ibidem sarcinolis ac tentoriis suis, xx° die ejusdem mensis Augusti, confusus recessit.

Statimque praedictus comes villas de Aguilon,[1] Real[2] ac alias quamplures cum castris de Agines [et] Toniggus[3] sibi stabilivit,
f. 156 b. pertransiensque per partes de Sengtogne[4] cum mille hominibus | armorum in villa de Salvaterra, sibi reddita, pernoctavit. Postea villas Sancti Johannis de Angelin[5] et Livesham[6] cum castris
Avesb. p. 374 potenter cepit. Civitatem Pictavensem per insultum iiij° die Octobris obtinuit, omnibus sibi resistentibus captis vel occisis, uno tamen episcopo, baronibus quatuor, ac multis aliis valentibus ex alia parte civitatis versis in fugam. Tunc, captis spoliis, rediit idem comes Burdegualiam cum triumpho. Quo anno, xiij kalendas Augusti, peperit domina regina Philippa filiam Margaretam.

Cf. Avesb. p. 376 Eodem anno, durante praedicta obsidione de Caleis, David rex Scotorum ad Crucem de Nevil prope Dunelmiam[7] perveniens, in fortitudine maxima, circa vigiliam Sancti Lucae Evangelistae, Angliam hostiliter invasit, sperans terram vacuam omnibus hominibus, viris ecclesiasticis et aggrestibus, mulieribus ac parvulis exceptis. Absit a regis Anglorum consilio, saltem cum ipse in partibus transmarinis circa quaecunque occupatus fuerit, partes boreales et occidentales omni manu militari nudare. At ubi praedis ac rapinis Scoti undique vacantes repperierunt resistentes. Assignatisque loco et die belli, domini e partibus illis ac alii cum clero et popularibus, juxta civitatem Dunolmensem conserto prœlio, ipsis quoque opitulatione et gratia divina succurren-

1. Aiguillon, at the confluence of Lot and Garonne. 2. Ville Réal in Avesb. 3. *i.e.* Tonneins. 4. *i.e.* Saintonge. 5. *i.e.* St. Jean d'Angély. 6. *i.e.* Lusignan. 7. Prope Dunelmiam in margin, in same hand.

tibus, Scotos, licet Anglis in triplum potentiores, viriliter superabant. Et interfectis comite de Morif[1] Avesb. p. 377 et fratre suo, totoque flore militiae ac hominum armorum Scotiae ibidem, Deum, qui paucis victoriam dedit de inimicis et dolosos tradidit in manus | fidelium, devota mente f. 157 laudaverunt. Anglici consequenter fugientes viriliter consequentes, ipsum David regem Scotorum, comites de Mentil[2] et Desils,[3] dominum Willelmum Duglas aliosque plures potentes ceperunt. Qui, sumpta requie paucis diebus pro tanto labore, ordinatisque custodibus in illa patria, concitius,[4] cum praedictis captivis, Londonias properabant. Quibus relictis secure in Turri ibidem usque adventum domini regis Anglorum, ad propria redierunt cum gaudio. Quantas miseras anxietates et dolores generosa domina Johanna, soror regis Anglorum ac regina Scotiae, hiis diebus patiebatur novit ipsa afflicta et [ei] quibus ipsa retulit flens suas passiones. Et quia conventus Westmonasterii, agente domino rege in partibus transmarinis, singulis septimanis quarta et sexta feria loca sanctorum, nudis pedibus, pro eodem populoque suo et eorum expeditione orando, devote visitabant, omnium prisonum temporalium et spiritualium carcerorum[5] evasiones per cartam suam, sub data apud Caleis, ab initio usque in praesens dominus rex gratiose indulsit, mediatore fratre Nicholao de Lithington,[6] monacho ejusdem conventus, qui negotiorum ecclesiae saepius procurator optimus sed aliquando irremuneratus, in coelis

1. *i.e.*, Moray. 2. John Graham, earl of Menteith. 3. *Rectius* de Fife. 4. Conscius in MS. 5. Carorum, MS. 6. *Rectius* Litlington.

tamen, ut speratur, (qui) plus hic laboravit ampliori mercede ditabitur.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XLVII°, papae Clementis v°, regni regis Edwardi Angliae xxj et Franciae
f. 157 b. nono,[1] hiemavit idem dominus rex super obsidi|onem de Caleys, ubi obsidentes[2], ad modum civitatis Londoniarum in vicis ac plateis de tentoriis ac papilionibus dominorum, populares vero de marisco, villam et mansiones construxerunt.

Avesb. p. 388 Quo anno, durante obsidione, dominus Karolus de Bloys, per medium uxoris suae ducatum Britanniae vendicans, Anglicos villam et castrum de Richediris[3] custodientes, cum mille CC hominibus armorum, VI C armatis ac M¹M¹ balistariis hostiliter veniens, terruit. Quo anno, dominus Thomas Dageworth miles, tunc capitaneus Anglorum ibidem., xx die Junii circa quarterium ante auroram, cum CCC hominibus armorum et CCC sagittariis superveniens, proeliavit cum Karolo praedicto, peremptisque VI C hominibus armorum[4] ac multis nobilibus, dominum Karolum et alios quamplures valentes captivavit, ceteris in fugam retractis.

Avesb. p. 390 Hiis itaque peractis, dominus Philippus de Valesio, rex Franciae, obsidionem Calesiae in dolo proponens ammovere, xxvii die Julii hujus anni, grandi exercitu ibidem appropinquavit. Qui, ultimo die mensis ejusdem, domino regi Edwardo campestre bellum obtulit, sequenti tertia die circa horam vespertinam committendum, si auderet extra locum obsidionis venire ; et habita brevi deliberatione, dominus rex Angliae diem et locum assignatos hilariter acceptavit. Rex vero Francorum, hiis intellectis, sequenti nocte, crematis tentoriis suis, de nocte vecorditer evanuit.

Avesb.pp.386, 395-6. f. 158 Desperantes obsessi a dicto rege se aliud refugium | non[5] habere, consumptis victualibus suis, equos, canes et mures edebant,

1. The French regnal years are a year in advance throughout. Edward III dated his reign in France from 25 January, 1340.
2. Obsides, MS. 3. La Roche-Derrien. 4. Armatorum, MS. 5. Non non, MS.

ut suam fidelitatem non violarent. Tandem, compertum est inter eos nichil victui remanere, quos miserrima fames aut male mori aut villam reddere coegit, ipsosque domini sui omni succursu atque auxilio viduatos. Depositis vexillis regni Franciae, et acceptis mucronibus gladiorum suis in manibus atque funibus collo appensis, se nudos usque ad camisiam et femoralia cum clavibus praedictae villae ac castri, tertio die Augusti, domino regi Angliae in ingenti timore ac tremore obtulerunt. Ipse vero, ut semper misericors dominus, omnes recepit ad gratiam; paucis de majoribus redemptioni in Angliam missis, communitatem, cum omnibus portabilibus suis, ubicunque vellent in pace permisit abire, villam cum castro sibi reservans. Tunc, mediantibus cardinalibus, treugae captae fuerunt ibidem per novem menses duraturae, sub data xxvii die Septembris anno praedicto,[1] et circa festum Michaelis rediit in Angliam dominus rex Angliae et Franciae Edwardus tertius cum glorioso triumpho; tamen infortunia, sicut nuper de Britannia, in mari perpessus multorum militum aliorumque suorum servientium amissionem; Unde gemens conqueritur: 'O beata domina mea Maria! quid est et quid portendit, quod transfretando in Franciam aura laeta semper potior, arridet mare ac omnia mihi prospera[2] eveniunt; et in Angliam revertendo mihi gravissima succedunt.

Avesb. p. 396

Avesb. pp. 396, 402

Polychron. viii., 344

Polychron. viii. 344

| Anno gratiae M°CCC°XLVIII°, papae Clementis vi, regni regis Edwardi Angliae xxii, Franciae decimo, in partibus orientalibus coepit et crevit indies mortalitas hominum inaudita, ita consumens ut vix decimum reliquit mortalem vitalem de Saracenis aliisque infidelibus. Unde quamplurimi haesitantes

f. 158 b.

1. Blurred owing to hole in parchment; Harl. 685 reads praeterito.
2. Prospere, *Polychron*.

ob suam incredulitatem et nequitiam evenisse, relictis erroribus, fidem Christianam, ut dicebatur, coluerunt. Unde plurimi pestilentiam, famem et terrae motum a Salvatore praedicta hoc tempore advertentes, veraciter sperabant in praesenti initium habuisse et ejusdem aeterni pastoris dicta: "Alias oves habeo quae non sunt ex hoc ovili, et illas oportet me adducere, et vocem meam audient, et fiet unum ovile et unus pastor."[1] Comperto tandem aliis in regionibus eadem mortalitate et pestilentia innumerabiles interire, ad paganismum redierunt; attamen doctores et praedicatores Christianos, cujuscunque status aut ordinis, nusquam impedientes vel prohibentes quin per universas eorum regiones procederent et circuirent, docendo et praedicando verbum Dei; dummodo contra advocatum suum Machometum et leges ac ritus eorum depravando non obsequerentur, quia quoscunque ad fidem Christianam convertere potuerunt, spoliatis omnibus rebus suis, a finibus illis concito exulabant.

Polychron. viii. 345 Eodem anno, circa partes meridianas occidentalesque inundaverunt pluviae a Nativitate Sancti Johannis Baptistae usque ad Nativitatem Domini, vix diebus vel noctibus cessantes quin
f. 159 plueret aliquantulum; quas praedicta hominum[2] | mortalitas, per orbem incrassata maxime circa curiam Romanam et alia loca maritima et aquosa nimium consumens, sequebatur, vix relinquens vitales mortuorum corpora honeste sepelire;[3] sed fossas altas et latas fodientes, corpora junctim sepeliebant et, uno gradu ita disposito, ter-

1. St. John X, 16. 2. hominum hominum, MS. 3. Cf. *Eulogium Historiarum* (Rolls Series), III, 213.

ram injecerunt, aliquando[1] gradum eodem modo reincipientes, gravioribus personis exceptis.

Anno gratiae M°CCC°XLIX°, papae Clementis vii, regni regis Edwardi iii Angliae xxiii et Franciae xi, cui infra Nativitatem Domini, celebratam apud Haverynge, nunciatum fuit de quadam proditione contracta apud Caleys; dicta villa pro maxima summa florenorum vendita Francorum regi Philippo, mediante quodam milite Galfrido de Charnaie[2], secreto eidem. Quae cum audisset, dominus rex Angliae, nobiles secum ad solempnitatem dierum tunc praesentes ibidem ac alios in armis strenuos convocatos, paucis praecipuis festine celebratis solempniis, secum assumens, prudenter ac secrete transfretavit.

In crastino igitur Circumcisionis Domini,[3] existente eodem domino rege Edwardo in castro de Caleys cum praedictis et aliis armatis, nescientibus alienigenis, ipse conspirator Galfridus castrum praedictum, quod palam nequivit, furtive ac subdole ingredi ac detinere cum ingenti exercitu venit ibidem. Et ipse cum suis ingressus cuidam Genuensi custodienti castrum praedictum, sibi ad praemissa in dolo consentienti, summam florenorum juxta pactum praehabitum inter ipsos solvebat, et vinculatis ministris Anglorum | in eodem castro, iniquitatem in excelso locuti sunt illis. Et ecce pons ligneus ante fores subtiliter elevatus clausos detinebat ingressos; mox de latibulis exeuntes Anglici cum Gallicis viriliter pugnabant. Quibus in conflictu seorsum occupatis, dominus rex vix habens secum triginta, gladio evaginato, dixit: "A! Edward, Saint George!" Hoc audito, protinus confluentes ad eum talem hostibus insultum

Avesb. p. 403

f. 159 b

1. *Sic* in MS.
2. Charney, *Brut,* p. 302. 3. Newers day, *Brut.*

reddiderunt quod, occisis plusquam ducentis hominibus armorum multisque aliis armatis, ac ceteris quibus sors adjuvit versis in fugam, per gratiam Dei quem cito laudabant devoti, victoria cessit Anglicis. Tunc, dicto Galfrido hujusmodi seditionis inventore ac quibusdam aliis nobilibus captivatis, dominus rex post paucos dies rediit ad propria cum gaudio.

Hoc anno et proximo praeterito et futuro, saeva mortalitas homines ab Oriente in Occidentem nimis consumpsit per pestilentiam, expulsis ulceribus in inguine et sub alis, quae morientes triduo cruciabant. Quibus sic exspirantibus in Anglia papa Clemens ex sua clementia de peccatis confessis plenam remissionem indulsit. Inter quos obierunt magister Johannes de Offord', tunc cancellarius Angliae et postulatus sedi Cantuariae vacanti per mortem
f. 160 magistri Johannis de Stratford, nuper archiepiscopi | Cantuariensis, confirmatus, non sacratus. Cui successit magister Thomas de Bredwardyn canonice electus, confirmatus et sacratus Avinione, et in officio cancellarii magister Johannes de Thoursby.

Discessit eadem pestilentia frater Symon de Richerestan,[1] abbas Westmonasterii, qui locum illum ære alieno tam propria superfluitate [quam] fraude familiarium atque parentum vastatione nimis oneratum reliquit. Successit et eidem frater Symon de Langham, prior ibidem, concorditer et canonice electus, qui debita praedecessoris brevi tempore post, suis parcens, sapienter persolvit. Ecclesiam suam

1. *Rectius,* Bircheston.

ac fratres ejusdem, saniori usus consilio, honorificentius solito dirigebat; quorum misertus dominus rex ea quae jure vacationis pertinebant eidem pro amore contulit fratri Nicholao de Litlington, monacho ejusdem monasterii. Ipse quidem qui bona semper procuravit, ut verum fatear, et mala impedivit pro posse, tanta largitione praefatam ecclesiam, abbatem futurum confratresque suos benigne relevavit.

Michaeli, abbati Sancti Albani successit frater Thomas de Marcho,[1] tunc prior [de] Tynmouth'. Et erant diebus istis mortalitas absque tristitia, sponsalia sine amicitia, poenitentia voluntaria et caristia absque penuria atque fuga sine refugio. Quam plurimi a facie pestilentiae fugerant infecti | nec f. 160b
necem evaserant; juxta illud Isaiae: "Qui fugerit a facie formidinis cadet in foveam, et qui se explicuerit de fovea tenebitur laqueo."[2] Consumpta tandem tali peste mortalium multitudine qui post se omnes mundi divitias reliquerunt, pars decima populi vix remansit. Illis tamen paucis in vita relictis omnia terrena praedicta longo tempore post non sufficiebant quae universis perante viventibus victui sufficiebant et honori. Creditur ergo Mammona hoc iniquitatis regulares plurimum laesisse, ordinem tamen mendicantium letaliter; quibus adeo per confessiones ac legationes superfluae divitiae affluebant ut vix sibi oblata dedignabantur[3] admittere.

1. *Rectius* de la Mare. 2. Isaiah, xxiv. 18.
3. So in MS.; query for dignabantur.

Illico, suae professionis obliti et regulae, quae in omni paupertate ac mendicatione consistunt, undique superfluo ornatu in cameris, mensis, equitaturis ex parte diaboli ceterisque inordinatis,[1] terrena carnaliaque non coelestia appetebant, asserentes in praedicationibus suis Jesum Christum et discipulos suos in hoc mundo eguisse ac mendicasse; pluraque erronea sustinuerunt, ut de nequioribus taceamus.

Eodem anno hoc mirabile coepit, quod omnes nati post dictam pestilentiam duos dentes molares pauciores quam ante habuerunt.

Anno gratiae M°CCC° quinquagesimo, papae Clementis viii, regni regis Edwardi Angliae xxiiii° et Franciae xii, qui annus jubilaei ac remissionis divinus erat non humanus. Proh dolor! quamcito gentes vindictae Dei oblitae, quoniam propter peccata hominum, ut creditur, praedicta pestilentia genus
f. 161 humanum infici ac interire adeo | permisit, ut pene superstites in fato lapsorum cadavera humare sufficerent,[2] non debita transgressiones offensae transibant multa; et ita plurimi Romae absoluti peccatores repatriabant nullis in praedictis parcentes, reversi immo, quod nequius estimatur, debitores suos vel leviter in se delinquentes, quosdam vero propter hereditates ac alia bona, utlagantes, occidentes seu usque ad necem persequebantur incarceratos. Inter quos antiqua reverentia majoribus debita debilitatur; ut illud propheticum valeat: " Sicut populus, sic

1. A participle seems to have been omitted here.
2. Cp. above p. 106.

sacerdos; sicut servus, sic dominus; sicut ancilla, sic domina."[1] Quorum avaritia, contemptus ac malitia quaerunt ultionem.

Hoc anno in festo Decollationis Sancti Johannis Baptistae in mari juxta Winchelse dominus rex Edwardus commisit bellum cum Hispannis, bellum navale utique durissimum, ubi, cathenatis navibus, aut pugnare aut mergere oportet. Avesb. p. 412

Quia vero dicti Hispanni, seu alii a partibus illis anno proximo praecedente piratae, quamplures naves Angliae de Vasconia velificantes, vino aliisque mercimoniis onustas, nautis, mercatoribus ceterisque hominibus Anglicis interfectis ac contemptibiliter projectis in pelago, rapuerunt, Anglici eadem saepius, captis navibus Hispannicis, injurias sibi illatas rependentes, vindicabant. Tandem pars adversa, classi robusta congregata, navigium Angliae destruere proponebat. Quae domino regi Angliae ac populo suo nusquam latuerunt quin, convocatis valentibus ac hominibus armorum ad | litus maris f. 161 b prope Winchelse et Romeneye, navibus interim praeparatis ad pugnam, inimicis concurrentibus viriliter obviarent. Demum, in festo praedicto, circumcluso hostili navigio navibusque hincinde conjunctis, committitur proelium fortissimum in quo pauci qui pugnabant evaserunt, enormiter laesi.[2] Hispanni, viri bellicosi et in armis strenui, citius mori quam se reddere eligentes, multitudine copiosa perierunt ibidem. Captis tandem post bellum xxiiii navibus alienigenis, quaedam cum mercimoniis evaserunt subtiliter et cessit victoria Anglicis. Laudetur qui contulit.

1. Isa., xxiv. 2.
2. enormiter illaesi, MS. Cp. *Brut,* p. 304 and *Cont. Murim.*, p. 180: nam ab illo vix aliquis evasit illaesus.

Eodem anno, dominus papa Clemens vi Avinione canonizavit Sanctum Thomam de Cantilupo Herfordiae quiescentem, sanctorum catalogo[1] confessorum annectens, et de illo transferendo praelatis Angliae mandata direxit sub data ibidem pontificatus sui anno viii.

Quo etiam anno circa festum Sancti Michaelis committitur duellum in palatio Westmonasterii inter dominum Johannem[2] Bastardum, filium Philippi quondam regis Franciae, et quendam militem de Cipres.[3] Ubi cessit victoria dicto Johanni, licet injuste, ut dicebatur a pluribus, quam[4] ad querelam. Venerunt consequenter in Angliam poenitentes viri alienigenae, utique nobiles, propria corpora nuda, cantando ac flendo, usque ad sanguinis effusionem acerrime flagellantes; inconsulta tamen, ut dicebatur, sede apostolica, parum vel nichil valuit illa poenitentia ad salutem.

f. 162 Vacavit hoc anno | sedes Cantuariensis, sublato de medio magistro Thoma de Bredwardyn, nuper archiepiscopo, tam in curia, quia symoniam in remunerandis personis ibidem committere noluit, quam pedes in redeundo ad propria nimis ac continuo timore lacessitus, et coram rege in accipiendis temporalibus territus sacramentis. Quae, ut aestimatur, causam sui interitus ministrabant. Qui quoddam volumen in [tribus][5] libris contentum de

1. Cathologo, MS.
2. So MS. and derived chronicles. Should be Thomam [de la Marche].
3. Misread Ipres or Ypres in B.M., *Addit. MS.* 10,104, *Cont. Murim.*, *Chron. Angl.* and Wals. *Hist. Angl.*
4. *Sic* in MS.
5. Supplied from the title of the work.

Causa Dei ingenti studio contexuit. Successit eidem in metropolitanum magister Symon de Iselep.

Anno gratiae M°CCC°LI°, pontificatus papae Clementis ix, regni regis Edwardi tertii, Angliae xxv et Franciae xiii, idem dominus rex sapienti usus consilio, Willelmi videlicet de Hedindone, tunc Wintoniensis episcopi et thesaurarii Angliae, ac aliorum sapientium (ipse quidem amicus communitatis toto tempore officii [sui] praestitit ne regia potestas in variis extortionibus ac contributionibus populum aggravaret; qui plurimum industria et sua prudentia ut regi proficeret simul et regno) novam monetam operari procuravit: scilicet, denarium dictum grossum de quatuor denariis parvis et dimidium grossum de duobus denariis; minoris tamen ponderis quam vetus erat esterlingus quinque s[chillingis] in libra. Qua de causa venalia quaeque in victualibus, mercimoniis et singulis aliis rebus majoris caristiae in vendendo et emendo imposterum quam [antea][1] steterunt. Sed et operarii ac artifices in laborando et operando pro dietis, quarterinis ac annuis servitiis et singulis artibus plus mercedis et vadii longo tempore post petentes receperunt. | Pejus minusque f. 162 b
operabantur. In quorum superbiam, malitiam ac avaritiam statuta per parliamentum apud Westmonasterium ordinata sunt ab anno regni regis Edwardi tertii xxvii usque in annum ejusdem xxxix; parum nichilve profuerunt.

1. Not in MS., but seems required by the sense.

Anno gratiae M°CCC°LII°, papae Clementis vi decimo et ultimo, regni regis Edwardi Angliae xxvi et Franciae xiiii, immediate post Pascha habuit idem rex consilium apud Westmonasterium cum secretioribus suis, cujus effectus latuit communitati.

Interim civitatem Remensium[1] in Britannia domino Henrico Lancastriae comiti[2] Derbeiae obsidenti plura milia florenorum ut recederet obsessi obtulerunt; nec adquievit. At illi, intermissis [literis][3] regi pro auxilio requirendo in obsidentes, convocatis militibus ac hominibus armorum numero excessivo, senescallus Franciae iter arripuit versus partes [illas][4] ut obsidionem ammoveret.

Avesb. p. 416 Nec talia Anglicis latuerunt. Igitur in vigilia Assumptionis beatae Mariae eidem senescallo Franciae cum exercitu suo illuc properanti dominus Walterus de Bentle, miles, tunc custos Britanniae, juxta Mauron inter villas Darremeys[5] et Plumerel[6] cum ccc. hominibus armorum totidemque sagittariis viriliter obviavit atque commisso proelio devicit. Et ceciderunt ibidem xiii nobiles, militesque centum quadraginta, scutiferi vero centum et pedites ingenti numero. Tunc capti fuerant ix nobiles et strenui milites et centum lx scutiferi. Tandem, visitato comite illustri, repatriavit probus miles cum triumpho.

f. 163 Quibus in civitate | publicatis, desperati cives condoluerunt; graves tamen praedicto comite indies assultus multiplicante, consuluerunt obsessi quid de pretiosioribus[7] reliquiis ac jocalibus securius esset

1. *Rectius*, Ranensium (*i.e.* men of Rennes). 2. Comite, MS.

3. The addition seems required by the sense, but the sentence remains ungrammatical. 4. Omitted by author or transcriber. 5. *i.e.* de Rennes. 6. *i.e.* Ploërmel. 7. MS. pretioribus.

agendum, ne Anglicis, tradita civitate, in spolium darentur et praedam. In praeparata levi cista lignea illa concludentes, requirebant treugas sepelire abbatissam infra civitatem defunctam in ecclesia sua extra muros et convenerunt in crastino solempniter praefatam cistam super loculum efferentes. Celebrata missa pro defunctis, cistam in fossa posuerunt et, superponentes terram, redierunt in civitatem. Denique aestimantes Anglici quod fiebat nusquam verum esse, contra prohibitum comitis cistam effodientes, dominum suum prius egentem tantis opibus exhilarabant. Quae civibus cognita in voces lamentationis prae nimio dolore omnes coegit. Cernentes se, omni succursu terrigenarum privatos, aut civitatem reddere aut fame perire miserrima debere, convocato consilio infra dies paucos conditionaliter seipsos cum villa dicto comiti tradiderunt: videlicet, ut dominus ille cum nobilioribus suis, portis patentibus, securus ingrederetur, ceteris Anglicis propter seditiones portas afforis servantibus ne ipsi suaque darentur in praedam illis; et quod potentiores civitatis venirent in Angliam quasi captivi coram domino rege[1] ejusdem ac consilio suo, ut de ipsis et civitate praedicta pro libito suo | disponeret; rema- f. 163b
nente interim villa praedicto comiti subjecta. Et concordarunt.

Quo anno dominus Haimo at(t)e Hethe, Roffensis episcopus, sponte ac notorie dignitati suae renunciavit

1. The MS. has a superfluous 'ac' after 'rege.'

in manibus domini papae, mediante ac procurante priore ejusdem magistro Johanne de Schepeye, ad episcopatum praedictum ab olim aspirante. Cui papa providit de eodem. Sub quo etiam anno quidam frater Benedictus de Certiseie, monachus Westmonasterii, ad expensas conventus ejusdem, mediantibus gratiosis literis supplicatoriis domini regis Angliae, ecclesias de Sabrichworth' et Kilveden', quae a tempore papae Johannis xxii pendebant in curia concessae ad opus ecclesiae praedictae, inexpeditae, episcopis[1] Londoniensibus impedientibus, gratiose impetravit, auctoritate papae Clementis vi[2] dicto monasterio proprio motu annexas, sedentibus vel discedentibus tunc rectoribus in eisdem, sub data Avinione, pontificatus sui anno x^{mo}.

Quo anno vacavit sedes papalis, eodem[3] Clemente de medio sublato ac sepulto in civitate particulata. Cui successit dominus Stephanus, episcopus Hostiensis, cardinalis presbyter ac summus poenitentiarius domini papae; et dictus est Innocentius sextus.[4]

Et coepit hoc anno caristia magna rerum venalium. In quo quidem anno dominus Willelmus, dux Selondiae, duxit in uxorem filiam domini Henrici, comitis Lancastriae, quae postea valuit paucis
f. 164 admodum annis. nam et ipse dominus | irrecuperabili frenesi percussus fuerat et genitor suus lepra; cui Deus post mortem melius praestitit vivere.

1. Epūs, MS. 2. vi Clementis, MS. 3. Eodem anno, MS.
4. Cp. *Polychron.*, viii. 407.

Anno gratiae M°CCC° quinquagesimo iij°, papae Innocentii primo, regni regis Edwardi Angliae xxvii et Franciae xv, statim post Pascha idem dominus rex convocavit parliamentum apud Westmonasterium in quo dominus Henricus, comes nuper Lancastriae, praeficitur, secundum sua merita, dux ejusdem. Et inter alia affata dicti parliamenti fiebant statuta popularium: videlicet, quod servientes operariique ac artifices cujuscunque artis manualis et laborarii agrorum, silvarum, prati et hujusmodi ac omnium aliorum, imposterum pro dietis et terminis anni plus mercedis vel stipendii quam solebant ante annum pestilentiae ullo modo non recipiant. Statutumque fuit ibidem ut panni lanei venales de cetero sint in longum et latum aequales, sicut olim ordinatum est in parliamento apud Northamptoniam, et quod omnia molendina et alia quaeque impedimenta navium, schoutorum[1] et limborum[2] ac aliorum omnium vecturarum[3] per fluvios et rivos indales[4] in regno ocius tollantur; quae omnia mediante pecunia et amicitia dominorum, ad communem utilitatem effectum aliquem non capiebant.

Provenit et hoc anno tanta siccitas a mense Martii usque ad Julii mensem, quod non cecidit pluvia super terram; unde fructifera, seminata et herbae pro majori parte perierunt. Ob quorum defectum

1. From Dutch scût, a flat-bottomed river boat. See *New Eng. Dict.*, s. v.v. Scuit, Scout, and Shout.
2. Lemborum in printed text of *Chron. Angl.*
3. Vectigalium in MS.; corrected from *Chron. Angl.*
4. Other possible readings are nidales and vidales, but none of the three seems to have any meaning.

f. 164 b sequebatur magna miseria hominum et | jumentorum caristiaque victualium, adeo quod Anglia semper fertilis ab insulanis indiguit quaerere victui necessaria. Quorum misertus egestatis dux Willelmus de Selond plures naves onustas siligine Londonias direxit.

Quo etiam anno dominus Henricus, comes Derbeiae et Lancastriae, in consilio habito apud Westmonasterium factus fuit dux Lancastriae et dominus Radulphus Staffordiae comes ejusdem.

Anno gratiae M°CCC°LIIII°, Innocentii papae ii°, regni regis Edwardi Angliae xxviii et Franciae xvi, Cf. Avesb. p. 420 concordatum fuit et juratum inter reges Angliae et Franciae, quod dominus rex Edwardus rehaberet omnes terras et dominia ducatui Acquitaniae ab antiquo pertinentia et per reges Franciae hactenus usurpata, sibi et heredibus suis imperpetuum, libere et pacifice, ita quod idem rex Angliae dimitteret et relaxaret jus suum et clameum quae habebat ad regnum Franciae. Super quibus mittebatur ad curiam ex parte utriusque regis, ut pacta praedicta imbullarentur. Sed disponente Deo pro meliori futuro ad honorem domini regis Angliae, prout dicetur inferius ab anno septimo proximo sequente usque ad annum,[1] quid per fraudem Francorum, quid per impedimentum papae et curiae, irritantur pacta. Qua de causa dominus Edwardus tertius, rex Angliae et Franciae, se paravit et suos ad

1. A date is evidently omitted, but there is no blank in the manuscript.

dimicandum, et ut piratae ac hostes sui in Anglicos et bona sua minorem causam malignandi haberent, stapulam, ut creditur, lanarum de Flandria per sanum consilium revocavit ad Angliam, cum omnibus libertatibus | ac liberis consuetudinibus ad eam f. 165 pertinentibus, et eam stabilivit in Anglia[1], diversa tamen per loca, videlicet, Westmonasterium, Cantuariam, Cicestriam, Bristolliam, Lincolniam et Hull', cum omnibus juribus ac aliis rebus praedictis imperpetuum; ad hoc juratis domino rege ac primogenito una cum aliis, sub data apud Westmonasterium, hoc instanti anno regni regis Edwardi Angliae xxviii et Franciae xvi, testibus majoribus qui tunc affuerunt.

Quo anno, feria 3ª in hebdomada Pentecostes, Avinione quidam fratres Minores, propter quasdam opiniones erroneas, igne combusti sunt. Nec minus valuit ordinibus mendicantium horribilis illa poenitentia, quin semper erronea ac alia sanctae fidei et ecclesiae contraria in suis praedicationibus et disputationibus sustinuerunt; qui et, si non in igne materiali comburantur, in hujus[modi] ac aliis sinistris perseverantes, in ignem aeternum, nisi resipiscant, nulli dubium, descendent.

Hoc insuper anno Henricus, dux Lancastriae, inire singulare certamen cum duce de Bruneswik qui sua inhumanitus depraedavit in redeundo eodem de curia Romana, honorabiliter valde[2] Parisius trans-

1. Alia, MS.; Anglia, *Chron. Angl.* 2. Valde valde, MS.

fretavit; quos ad letalem pugnam praeparatos concordia dominorum separavit indempnes. Eodem die et loco, quidam strenui milites corpora sua protulerunt hastis acutis aut aliis armis congredi in contradicentes jus domini regis Angliae Edwardi ad regnum Franciae; nec comparuit ibidem qui illis obviaret.

Anno gratiae M°CCC°LV^to^, papae Innocentii tertio,
f. 165 b regni regis Edwardi iii Angliae | xxix et Franciae xvii, immediate post Pentecosten, congregato parliamento Westmonasterii domino regi Angliae nunciatur Philippum intrusorem Franciae jam defunctum et Johannem ejus primogenitum, sed male, ut refertur, in regem ejusdem coronari, et hunc filio suo Karolo ducatum Aquitanniae contulisse. E quibus dominus rex Angliae indignanter motus, coram proceribus adunatis ibidem, advocato domino Edwardo primogenito suo, quia suo juri hereditario semper pertinebat, [illi][1] praedictum ducatum contulit et, ut se in adversarios suos defenderet, minaci vultu acriter armavit. Qui consequenter, una cum domino genitore suo, divinum imploraturus auxilium, loca sanctorum in Anglia visitavit. Oblatoque per praedictum dominum regem Sancto Edwardo Westmonasterii capite beati Benedicti abbatis ii kalendas Julii, praeparatisque bello necessariis, coadunatis ac armatis navibus in expeditionem sui transitus,
Avesb. p. 424 sumptisque secum dominis comitibus de Warwike, Southfolk,

1. Supplied from *Chron. Ang.*

Sarisburia et Oxonia, mille etiam hominibus armorum totidemque sagittariis, in Nativitate beatae Mariae apud Plummouth velificare coepit.

Igitur in Acquitanniam applicatus, a nobilioribus illarum partium honorifice susceptus est. Quibus post aliquot dies adventus sui [causis] notificatis, et habita deliberatione optima de inimicis suis aggrediendis, decimo die Octobris hujus anni equitare incepit, transienque per patrias Darmenak,[1] Ryvere,[2] Cumgg,[3] Slee,[4] Tholosanae, | Karkason et Narbon prope mare Graecum; villasque muratas quamplures per octo hebdomadas eundo et redeundo, captis praedis ac spoliis, solotenus igne devastavit, absque ulla sibi facta resistentia; patriae vero de Juliak, quae sibi fuerat subjecta, pepercit. Extunc, tanto labore lassus, hiemavit ibidem. Interim, ipso domino divinis officiis, ut sui moris est, operam dante, comites praedicti, ut sibi nomen potius acquirerent pro voto domini principis, plures villas muris clausas, castra et munitiones suo domino subjugarunt. Unde territi multi nobiles, sua corpora cum suis omnibus domino principi submittentes, data fidelitate, sui legii devenerunt.

Avesb. pp. 432-450

f. 166

Quo anno dominus rex Angliae, sumptis secum duobus filiis, domino, videlicet, Leonello, comite Ultoniae, et domino Johanne fratre ejus, comite de Richmond', ac domino Henrico, duce Lancastriae, comitibusque Northamptoniae, Marchiae et Staffordiae cum aliis valentibus, hominibus etiam armorum circiter duo millia et sagittariis, in Franciam transfretavit et in Calasio secure receptus, quievit paucis diebus. Postea, cum praedictis ac stipendiariis alienigenis ipsum ibidem expectantibus, secundo die Novembris egressus, iter arripuit versus dominum Johannem regem Franciae

Avesb. p. 427

1. *i.e.* d'Armagnac.

2. La Rivière. The chief town of this viscounty was Plaisance, now in the department of Gers (Avesb., p. 440).

3. Comminges; Cumenge in Avesb.

4. Apparently L'Isle-en-Dodon (Haute-Garonne); Isele or Isle in the prince's letter (Avesb., p. 434).

se, ut credidit, juxta Sanctum Adomarum[1] secundum literas et pacta sua praestolantem cum ingenti exercitu. Intellecto
f. 166 b tamen adventu regis Angliae, ipse rex Fran | ciae cum hominibus ac suis mobilibus vecorditer recessit, vastando victualia ne Anglici uterentur eisdem; quem insequebatur fugientem dominus rex Edwardus tertius usque Eden[2] et prospiciens defectum victualium vecordiamque sui adversarii rediit, totam patriam supponens vastitati ut gentem Franciae acrius provocaret ad pugnam.
Avesb. p. 431 Dum haec agerentur, Scoti villam de Berwik clam et noctanter ceperunt, nullos praeter sibi resistentes occidentes, salvato tamen castro ejusdem per Anglicos. Tunc dominus rex, talia perpendens, in Angliam revertitur, provocatus ad iram.
Avesb. pp. 431-2 Cui apud Westmonasterium in quodam parliamento conceditur de quolibet sacco lanae per sex annos proximo sequentes l.*s*, ut Scotos aliosque inimicos suos potentius debellaret. Et paratis obsidioni necessariis et pugnae, praemissisque hominibus armorum ac sagittariis ante se, illuc festinus ipse properavit.

Quo anno, vii idus Januarii, apud Wodestok nascitur eidem masculus, dictus Thomas.

Anno gratia M°CCC°LVI°, Innocentii papae iiii, regni regis Edwardi tertii Anglia xxx^{mo} et Franciae
Avesb. p. 450 xviii, xiii die Januarii eidem victorioso regi in castro de Berwik cum paucis existenti, habenti tamen exercitum copiosum prope, praedicta villa absque difficultate redditur Interim quidam Anglici, de virtute sua praesumentes
f. 167 ac circa praedas | et alia lucranda deviantes, a Scotis latitantibus occidi ac captivari meruerunt.

Considerans postea dominus Johannes[3] Baylol rex Scotorum

1. St. Omer.
2. Hesdin. Hedeum in *Cont. Murim.*, Heden in *Chron. Angl.*
3. Corrected to Edwardus in *Cont. Murim.* and *Chron. Angl.*

pro dicto domino rege Deum quaeque gratiosa indies operari, sub se militare quam aliis praeponi eligens et quia ad regalia exercenda senectus sua ulterius non permisit, apud Rokesburgh' in regem Angliae regnum Scotiae transtulit et coronam, literis suis patentibus autenticis inde factis, sub data die xxv^to^ Januarii Et cito post idem dominus rex Angliae, praesentibus praelatis ac proceribus, se coronari fecit ibidem et, ceteris agendis pro libito suo dispositis in partibus illis, in Angliam remeavit cum triumphali honore.

Dum praedicta in partibus illis agerentur, dominus princeps Walliae Edwardus, quasi a Deo inspiratus et a Marte excitatus, in Acquitannia agens, civitate Burdegalliae, de aggrediendo regno Franciae cum praelatis [et][1] proceribus consuluit aliisque potentibus; et consenserunt. Cujus propositum quidam fraudulentus comes de Armanak regi Franciae, domino Johanni, nunciavit et sibi populoque suo infortunia, nisi prudentius praecaveret, inopinate futura. Qui concito, genitoris sui informatus exemplo, qui in adventu domini regis Angliae pontes ultra Sicanam disrupit, ne fugae patris proelia patris obviarent, turbaeque[2] nati jacula nati propinquarent, ipse prosternere jussit et pontes super flumen Ligeris. Quae ut intellexit dominus princeps, congregato exercitu, vi die Julii a Burdegallia se movebat. Transeundo per patrias de Agineis,[3] Peragor,[4] Limosin, Barri,[5] Saloigne plures villas incendit; | f. 167b
castra, tamen, fortalitia, ac villas suo principatui

1. Omitted in MS. 2. Turbaque, MS. 3. *i.e.* Agenais.
4. Périgord. 5. Berry.

sponte reddita illaesa reservavit. Captivavitque, itinerando per patrias, plures quam sex milia hominum armatorum. Ac etiam in Saloigne, capta villa de Remorantyn,[1] castrum obsedit ibidem sex diebus, quod tunc tradiderunt obsessi; et capti fuerunt ibidem dominus de Croun[2] et Bursigaunt[3] aliique milites ac homines armorum octoginta. Deinde[4] per Troreigne et Petou[5]; prope La Chaveney proceres sui, xvii die Septembris,[6] conflictum fortem habuere cum Gallicis; ibi occisis centum hominibus ad arma, capti sunt comites Dauncer[7] [et] Juny[8] et senescallus Franciae una cum C. hominibus armorum.

Quo etiam anno, xix die Septembris, juxta Poiters praedictus dominus princeps, cum mille nongentis hominibus ad arma [totidemque][9] circiter sagittariis, bellum commisit cum domino Johanne rege Franciae sibi occurrente cum vii millibus electis hominibus armorum, aliisque armatis, pavisariis ac balistariis in numero nimis excessivo. De quibus ceciderunt ibidem duces Dorbon[10] et Athenes, episcopus de Chalouns, aliique quoque domini nobiles viginti duo, milites vero ac homines armorum praecipui mille et

1. Romorantin. 2. Craon.

3. Boucicaut (Jean le Meingre., marshal).

4. *Chron. Angl.* supplies progressus est after deinde, and et after Petou.

5. *i.e.* Touraine and Poitou.

6. Novembris in MS., Septembris, *Chron. Angl.*

7. d'Auxerre. 8. Joigny.

9. Blank in MS.; supplied from *Chron. Angl.*

10. *Rect.* Borbon = Bourbon.

ex aliis, secundum verum compotum,[1] octingenti. Capti vero fuerunt ipse dominus Johannes rex Franciae, dominus Philippus, filius ejus junior, insuper dominus Jacobus de Borbon,[2] archiepiscopus Senonys,[3] comitesque de Pountif,[4] de Ew,[5] Daubevill,[6] Tankervyll,[7] Wentadort,[8] Vendesm,[9] Russy,[10] Vademont,[11] | Bruys,[12] Bantmartin,[13] Salebrugge,[14] f. 168
Nesow,[15] Vendon,[16] et filius comitis de Soir,[17] vicecomites autem de Narbone,[18] Beaumount, dominique de Montagu, Rochefocaud,[19] de Veille,[20] de Maugelef,[21] Daubeney,[22] de Solly,[23] de Seint Tigre,[24] Danboide,[25] de la Tour et Barvalle[26] ac plures alii, castellani vero de Compost[27] et Plancast,[28] senescalli Daubeneie[29] et Santoigne.[30] Item dominus Guychardus Barriz,[31] aliique milites, scutiferi ac homines armorum duo millia. Et ceciderunt in eodem bello duces de Borbone et Athenes,[32] archiepiscopus de Chaloniys,[33] vicecomites de Broue[34] et de Rochewarde,[35] domini etiam Durays,[36] Renioud de Pons, Galfridus Charny, dominus de Mafritas,[37] de Laundes,[38] Beaugu[39] cum fratre suo, et de Montegu, de Riperemonde,[40] Chauny, Isle, Ileie,[41] Balingham,[42]

1. See Avesb., p. 469, and below, p. 265. 2. Jacques de Bourbon, count of La Marche and Ponthieu, third son of Louis I, duke of Bourbon. 3. Sens. 4. Ponthieu. A double entry, Jacques de Bourbon above being count of Ponthieu. 5. Eu. 6. Longueville. 7. Tancarville. 8. Ventadour. 9. Vendôme. 10. Roucy. 11. Vaudemont. 12. Not found in other lists; ? a doublet of Russy. 13. Dammartin. 14. Saarbrücken. 15. Nassau. 16. ? Vendôme repeated. 17. Auxerre. 18. Narbonne. 19. La Rochefoucauld. 20. Valois (which comes next in Avesbury), or more probably Ville (Arnoul). 21. Maignelais. 22. d'Aubigny 23. Sully. 24. Saint-Dizier. 25. d'Amboise. 26. Derval. 27. Amposta. 28. ? le sire de Plaunche. 29. ? Senechal d'Auvergne. 30. Saintonge. 31. Guichard d'Ars. 32. Athens. 33. Châlons-sur-Marne. 34. Brosse. 35. Rochechouart. 36. Duras. 37. Mathas. 38. Landas. 39. Beaujeu. 40. Ribemont. 41. ? Nesle. 42. ? Balinghem.

Daungers,[1] senescallus[2] de Claromonte et castellanus de Vylyn,[3] aliique domini, milites, scutiferi et gentes armorum duo millia.

Tandem cessit victoria praedictis domino principi et populo Anglorum; benedicatur Altissimus qui gratiose contulit. Denique, captivatis in sacramento ac fidelitate militari digna redemptione oneratis, et ad propria licentiatis ac dimissis, dominus princeps, sumpto secum omni reverentia domino Johanne rege Francorum, rediit Burdegalliam cum maximo mirabilique triumpho.

Summa totalis, itinerando, in conflictibus, obsidionibus, die belli et in fuga, captivorum ac mortuorum quattuor millium, quadringentorum, quadraginta
f. 168 b hominum armorum, | balistariis aliisque armatis exceptis in Anglicis.

Anno gratiae M°CCCL°VII°, Innocentii papae v°, regni regis Edwardi tertii Angliae xxxi°, et Franciae xix, kalendis Aprilis, relaxatur interdictum Oxoniae, quod auctoritate domini Johannis, episcopi Lincolniensis, propter clericidium et sacrilegia, anno proximo elapso illatum fuerat.

Quinto insuper die Maii, dominus princeps Edwardus, cum domino Johanne rege Franciae et filio ejus Philippo aliisque nobilibus captivis, in portu de Plummouth gloriose applicuit; et xxiiii die mensis ejusdem, circa horam tertiam per pontem Londoniarum civitatem ingressi, versus palatium regium

1. Sancerre. 2. *rect.* marescallus. 3. *rect.* (sire) de Château-Vilain.

Westmonasterii tetenderunt; ruitque circa eos tanta populi multitudo inauditum stupendumque intueri spectaculum, ut vix post meridiem ad palatium pervenerunt. Propter quem ac pacem reformandam venerunt duo cardinales vi die Julii ejusdem anni, dominus videlicet Talirandus episcopus Albanensis, et dominus Nicholaus tituli Sancti Vitalis, cum ingenti solempnitate recepti. Qui saepius cum regibus et eorum consiliis colloquentes, sed non pro meliori parte regis Angliae et regni, discordes recesserunt et confusi. Dominus attamen rex, clerus quoque potentioresque regni tam in conviviis et exenniis quam colloquiis et solatiis plures honores, licet immerito, illis fecerunt; quoniam parum nichilve gratiae vel commodi ecclesiae Anglicanae seu terrae, nisi in confessionibus audiendis, ecclesiisque ac praebendis pro sua utilitate conferendis, secum attulerunt. In praedictis et aliis dominus Symon de Langham, tunc abbas Westmonasteriensis, ut forte sibi nomen acquireret ac beneficia pinguiora, plus omnibus et frequentius laboravit.

Nunciantur | interim inaudita nova diversae f. 169
nationis quamplures in partibus transmarinis per turmas consurrexisse et convenisse in unum absque capite, regimine videlicet alicujus domini, multa mala perpetrantes per patrias manu armata, nulla illis resistente; qui se nominarunt Magnam Societatem. Quorum caput diabolus et dux in actibus; vacant enim rapinis et Christiani sanguinis[1] effusioni

1. Sanguis in MS.

ceterisque illicitis, quaerentes maledictiones et venient eis, odientes benedictionem et elongabitur ab eis, finis illorum mors et poena perpetua, si non se correxerint poenitentes.

Orta tempestate, circa festum Omnium Sanctorum, tam in terra quam in mari plura perierunt.

Et ipse David rex Scotiae a diutina custodia qua tenebatur in castro de Odiham, mediante redemptione centum millium marcarum argenti solvendarum in decem annis proximo sequentibus, quolibet anno mille marcae, liberatur,[1] expensis hospitii sui in hac summa non computatis. Concessumque fuit domino Johanni regi Franciae solvere pro sua redemptione sex centena millia florenorum nobilium, citra festum Sancti Martini hujus anni, et liberum redire in regnum suum. Ad quorum securitatem ex parte regis Angliae petebantur nobiliores Franciae in hostagium. De quibus, elapso tempore assignato, nichil fuerat expeditum. Quamobrem vicesimo die Novembris[2] dolosis responsum est se parare debere ad guerram.

Quo anno defuncta in festo Ruphi martyris licet domina Isabella dudum regina, mater gratiosi domini Edwardi iii regis ejusdem, apud Westmonasterium
f. 169 b in loco a beato Petro apostolo spiritualiter consecrato sepulturam praeelegit, ut ibi perpetuam memoriam, cum aliis humatis ibidem regiae dignitatis, haberet, seducta tamen per fratres Minores, qui sibi adhae-

1. Liberantur, MS.
2. Octobris Novembris in MS. ; Novembris, *Chron. Angl.*

rentes semper pejorant, in eorum ecclesia, nondum dedicata, xxvij die Novembris sepelitur; cujus memoria, vivente adhuc rege filio suo, post bien[n]ium emarcuit.

Quo anno fiebant hastiludia solempnia in Smythfelde, Londoniis, praesentibus regibus Angliae, Franciae ac Scotiae, aliisque nobilioribus regnorum.

Anno gratiae M°CCC°LVIII°, papae Innocentii vi, regni regis Edwardi tertii Angliae xxxij^{o} et Franciae xx^{mo}, immediate post Septuagesimam convocato parliamento apud Westmonasterium, ubi de pace reformanda inter duo regna persaepe colloquentes, partes nusquam concordarunt.

Quo anno frater Johannes[1] Lyle, Eliensis episcopus, cujusdam dominae ad sequelam nimis injuriose fatigatus in anno proximo elapso et deinceps, contra voluntatem domini regis ad curiam transfretavit, propositisque causis coram summo pontifice de injuriis continuatis sibi et ecclesiae illatis per dictam dominam[2] de Wake ac alios consiliarios suos;[3] unde graviter motus dominus papa omnes adversarios dicti pontificis publice excommunicari fecit, mandans literis suis domino Johanni Lincolniensi episcopo et aliis quibusdam praelatis Angliae, eandem in praedictos fulminare sententiam, atque si quos

1. So also *Chron. Angl.*; *rectius* Thomas.

2. *Chron. Angl.* inserts Blanchiam.

3. The grammatical construction is dislocated by the unde following. In *Chron. Angl.* it is omitted: "propositisque causis . . . . coram domino papa, motus est idem papa vehementer et . . . . fecit excommunicari."

praemissorum noverunt[1] sepultos, a sepulchris extrahere expeditius. Quod et factum fuit. Quibus indignans dominus rex, quia dictorum excommunica-
f. 170 torum quidam erant de consilio suo, praelatos | illos nimium infestabat. Pro qua causa a latere domini papae cum literis plumbatis quidam in Angliam directi venerunt; quarum tenores latuerunt et latent adhuc; tamen coram summo judice patent. Ex parte praefati episcopi Eliensis domino Johanni episcopo Roffensi, tunc thesaurario Angliae, obviantes armati violenter tradiderunt[2], protinus acti in fugam; quos alii insequentes, quosdam illorum captos incarcerabant et coram justiciariis statuentes morti alios adjudicantes, alios in carcere letaliter afflictos, absque misericordia interfecerunt.

Quo anno apud Wyndleshoram, tam pro amore militari quam proprio honore ac praesentia domini Johannis regis Franciae, aliorumque nobilium, festum Sancti Georgii martyris regaliter, nimis tamen sumptuose, dominus rex celebrari procuravit. Quibus irridens, ipse rex Franciae nunquam tanta solempnia cum talliis absque auri et argenti solutione se audivisse nec vidisse testatur. Ubi dominus Henricus, dux Lancastriae, congressu lancearum enormiter laesus, ad actus armorum postea minus valuit.

Consequenter magister Ricardus filius Radulphi, archiepiscopus Armacanus, prudenter, ut ignotus esset fratribus mendicantibus, sedem advenit apos-

1. Noverint, *Chron. Angl.*
2. *i.e.* delivered the papal letters.

tolicam, opiniones suas erga haereticos illos ab olim inceptas et in scholis, disputationibus ac praedicationibus continuatas de pauperie Christi sustinere, et ne confessiones amplius audirent seu sepulturas nisi suorum haberent resistere. Tandem, quia communis causa citius cadit quam personalis, nisi inter praedictos | mendicantes, adhuc lite pendente, posses- f. 170b
sionati, ut promiserunt, praedicto episcopo ad opem suam pecuniam nusquam ministrabant, sed mediator pecuniaris qui non solum curiam apostolicam, in qua omnis justicia absque fallacia fieri deberet, excaecat, verumetiam quaeque judicia per totum mundum sophistice pervertit, in maxima summa dictos fratres ad audientiam secrete praecedens, privilegia sua meliora prioribus impetravit.

Anno gratiae M°CCC°LIX°, Innocentii papae vij, regni regis Edwardi tertii, Angliae xxxiij et Franciae xxj, quartodecimo kalendas Junii dominus Johannes, comes de Richmond', filius regis Angliae, dominam Blanchiam, filiam domini Henrici ducis Lancastriae, dicti Johannis [consanguineam][1], cum dispensatione domini papae apud Redingum duxit in uxorem honorabiliter valde; etenim, itinerando a dicta villa usque Londonias, ipse cum militibus suis omnibus sibi occurrere volentibus et in campis et villis hastiludia tenebat. Praeconizantur medio tempore fieri et hastiludia Londoniis tribus diebus Rogationum, viz., majorem dictae civitatis cum xxiiij aldermannis

1. Supplied from *Cont. Murim.*, and *Chron. Angl.*

contra omnes; nomine quorum dominus rex Angliae, occulte tamen, cum quattuor filiis suis, scilicet dominis Edwardo, Leonello, Johanne et Edmundo, aliisque nobilibus xix, campum tenebat cum honore.

Postea, convocato consilio apud Westmonasterium, dominus Johannes rex Franciae juxta consilium suum obtulit domino regi Angliae, sub umbra pacis in dolo, Flandriam, Pikariam,[1] Acquitanniam ceteras-
f. 171 queterras quas equitaverat; et rex Angliae | acceptavit oblata. Pro quorum confirmatione ac ratificatione domino Karolo regenti, paribus Franciae et eorum consilio literas, cum quibusdam peritis, direxit dominus rex Angliae; sed praemissis in aliis sinistre obviantes contradixerunt Gallici. Unde graviter commotus, idem rex in dolosos celeriter se ac suos praeparavit praedictos ac alios inimicos, qui sua jura injuste a diu detinebant, juste debellare. Adunataque terrifica classi navium apud Sandwicum numerum mille et centum navium excedente, ordinato quoque domino Thoma de Wodestoke, filio suo parvulo, custode Angliae, ac visitatis sanctorum locis infra regnum, tandem post Assumptionem beatae Mariae, xii videlicet kalendas Septembris, veniens Westmonasterium, Sancto Edwardo ac aliis sanctis, quorum reliquiae habentur ibidem, negotia, expeditiones ac veram causam suam commendans, missas ibidem devotus audivit. Quibus celebratis, oblatisque offerendis, advocans tunc praesentes, inquit: "Refertur, ut reor, me debere sepeliri inter tres

1. Picardiam, *Chron. Angl.*

magos Coloniae; quos inquietari seu pro mea sepultura amoveri certissime non intendo. Advertite locum praesentem digniorem et pulchriorem, locum quoque primi honoris mei; in quo etiam beatissimus Christi Confessor, rex quondam Angliae Edwardus, ac devotissimus ejusdem Henricus, sed et Edwardus rex nobilissimus avus meus, quo in tota vita in gestis armorum nemo illustrior aut audacior seu in exercitibus regendis prudentior erat, requiescunt honorabiliter valde. Qui locus a beato Petro apostolo, | f. 171 b
cum ministerio angelorum, sanctissimam consecrationem antiquitus accepit. Quis me, rogo vos, impediet in propria ecclesia inter praedictos tres reges, ut praefertur, illustres, ex quo voluntas mea dictat et devotio, sepeliri."

Igitur, xxvij° die Octobris hujus anni, omnibus praeparatis tanti negotii necessariis, versus Calesium vela direxit, protestans se nolle reverti ad propria usquequo[1] guerram terminaret. Qui quarto die Novembris, diviso exercitu suo in tribus turmis propter victualia, videlicet, domino Henrico duci Lancastriae unam turmam fortem [commisit],[2] domino filio suo primogenito fortiorem, et sibi ipsi, ut oportuit, fortissimam; et praetereuntes civitates, castella et munitiones plurimas, patriam supposuerunt vastitati. In festo tandem Sanctae Luciae Virginis civitati Remensium appropinquantes, moram traxerunt ibidem, et nichil eis redditur nisi in progressu itinerando.

Quo anno, ut relatum fuerat a cernentibus, sanguis

1. usquequequo, MS. 2. Supplied from *Chron. Angl.*

quasi recenter effusus de tumba domini Thomae, quondam comitis Lancastriae, ubertim effluxit.

Obierunt et hoc anno dominus Galfridus[1] de Northbrugge, episcopus Cestriae (successit, non canonice sed prece vel pretio quia curialis, ille indignus gestis probatus dominus Robertus de Staunton',[2] quondam alumpnus domini regis primogeniti) et dominus Thomas[3] [comes][4] Oxoniae et camerarius Angliae, dominus Johannes le Gray, senescallus regis, Galfridus le Say cum aliis nominatis,[5] popularibus non numeratis.

Anno gratiae M°CCC°LX°, Innocentii papae viij, regni regis Edwardi tertii Angliae xxxiiij, Franciae vero xxii et novissimo, postquam hiemasset ibidem
f. 172 rex in partibus Remensium, in | festo Sancti Hillarii, diviso exercitu, se movebat versus Burgundiam. Cui pacifice obviavit dux ejusdem, promittens ei septingentena[6] milia florenorum, ut propriis suis parceret; et rex annuit requisitis mansitque ibidem usque ad xviii[7] diem Martii, quo die sonuerunt auribus suis rumores de Anglia, videlicet quod piratae alienigenae sub duce comite Sancti Pauli, xv die Martii, villae de Rye, Hastynges et aliis juxta mare insultantes, circa horam tertiam dominicae diei villam de Wynchelse hostiliter ingressi, omnes sibi resistentes interfecerunt, sexui, aetati aut ordini non

1. Corrected to Rogerus in *Chron. Angl.*
2. *Rectius* Stretton; Stratton, *Chron. Angl.*
3. *Rectius* Johannes. 4. Supplied from *Chron. Angl.*
5. Plures quam mille nominati, *Chron. Angl.* The figure has probably been dropped by a transcriber here.
6. septuaginta, *Brut, Chron. Angl.* 7. xvii, *Brut, Chron. Angl.*

parcentes. Praedis insuper ac spoliis, matronis una cum virginibus ad naves deportatis, villam pro majori parte igne consumpserunt. Omnes tamen applicantes cum navibus nusquam propria superstites petierunt, vel enormiter laesi, quaedam vasa non vacua relinquentes ibidem. Hiis auditis, dominus rex turbatus magisque provocatus ad furorem, quibus ante pepercerat modo gladiis vastare jussit et incendiis plurimis, exercitum suum versus Parisius divertens.

Consequenter in Anglia confluxerunt clerici ac laici ad arma praedictis hostibus obviare et, si liceat, pugnare pro patria.

De desolatione Anglicanae ecclesiae hiis diebus dolendum fuit, quoniam praelati regularium ac secularium homines, arma, equos, signa ac alia quaeque necessaria pugnantium festine sibi parari fecerunt, et quidam illorum armis utebantur in aperto, praecipientes subditis suis sibi arma providere cum quibus singuli se melius noverunt in necessitate defendere.

Duodecimo | igitur die Aprilis, veniens dominus f. 172 b
rex Angliae Parisius, ibique exercitu suo in novem aciebus proeliatum disposito, cinctis insuper de novo militibus quadringentis, mittitur a latere regis Angliae dominus Henricus, dux Lancastriae, sub umbra pacis ad portas civitatis campestre bellum immanentibus proferre, conditione tali, si rex Angliae devictus fuerit ibidem, quod absit, postea regnum Franciae nunquam vendicaret; et, accepto brevi

ridiculosoque responso, renunciavit regi ac nobilibus suis quae audivit. Protinus praedicti milites noviter cincti cum aliis dictae civitati assultantes, ejus suburbia[1] plurimum destruxerunt.

Dum vero ista agerentur, convocata classi octoginta navium tam civium Londoniarum quam aliorum et xiiii millibus hominum armorum ac sagittariorum, Anglici dedecus et despectum facta hoc anno apud Wynchelse vindicare affectantes, scrutando maria, inimicos quaerebant aestuantes, et in Francia applicati insulam de Caus viriliter ceperunt. Quibus incognitis domino regi Angliae et Anglicis, notificatis tamen Gallicis qui, optimo, ut creditur, usi ac disponentes consilio, dominos abbatem Cluniacensem, comitem Tankervile et Bursigaud,[2] tunc senescallum Franciae, una cum aliis valentibus, communi assensu domini Karoli regentis Franciae et tunc praepotentium, domino regi Angliae destinabant, pacem firmam immo perpetuam, ostensis conditionibus et pacis finalis concordiae in scriptis, postulantes. Quae deliberatione temporali inspecta domino regi
f. 173 Angliae ac consilio suo nusquam | placuerunt; unde commotus, ipse rex Angliae per consilium suum adverso parti sub poena prohibuit, nisi habita prolatione meliori in praedictis, amplius non sollicitarent eum.[3]

Interim, tempore melioris finalisque concordiae deliberationis, treugas Gallici instantius petentes pro

1. suburbiam, *Chron. Angl.*; suburbana, *Hist. Anglic.*
2. *i.e.* Boucicaut.
3. *Chron. Angl.*, more grammatically: 'prohibuit ne sollicitarent eum amplius, nisi habita,' etc.

partibus suis maritimis et[1] obtinuerunt consequenter et literas Anglicos insulam de Caus devastantes ocius perturbare, quibus festine directis illuc et ab Anglis diligenter inspectis, linquentes patrias illas recesserunt murmurantes.

Et in crastino octavarum Paschae,[2] divertit[3] se rex Angliae cum exercitu suo versus Aurileanum, supponens patrias vastitati. Ingruente tamen tempestate saevissima et apud nostrates inpraevisa, plura millia hominum et equorum itinerando, quasi per vindictam, subito interierunt. Quae regem Angliae et suos non multum terruerunt, quin procederent cum inceptis.

Et ecce, circa Inventionem Sanctae Crucis, juxta Carnotum, praedicti domini Franciae illustri Anglorum regi obviantes, concordiam pacificam ac finalem, ceteris conventionibus ac concessionibus articulariter collectis perpetuoque duraturis, circumspectissime compositam, regibus utrisque commodiferam et regnis, cum consensu unanimi praedicti regentis Franciae et parium compactam, sub data in civitate Carnotum, xv die Maii, obtulerunt; requirentes gratiam suam in scriptis ostensa benigne admittere rata, grata sibi et heredibus suis imperpetuum. Quibus inspiciendis habita sapienti deliberatione, dominus rex Angliae annuit ut, juratis[4] in Corpore

1. The construction is awkward, and perhaps this et is intrusive.
2. The compiler of the *Chron. Angl.*, or more probably its editor, wrongly extending the contracted word octav', wrote: in crastino, octavis Paschae. The *Brut* translates correctly: the morwe after the oeptas of Pasche. Monday, 13 April is the date referred to, Easter falling on 5 April in 1360.
3. diverti, MS.; corrected from *Chron. Angl.*
4. juratus, MS.; corrected from *Chron. Angl.*

Dominico, tactis similiter sacrosanctis Evangeliis,
f. 173 b partibus, pacta formata | stabilirentur; et concordarunt. Gratiose diriguntur igitur ab utraque parte viri electi fide digni, duo videlicet barones, duo baronetti, militesque duo, corporale sacramentum domini Karoli, regentis Franciae, ac domini Edwardi regis Angliae primogeniti[1], admittere.

Decimo vero die Maii, celebrata solempni missa Parisius, post dictum ter "Agnus Dei" cum "Dona nobis pacem" in praesentia praedictorum aliorumque qui interesse potuerunt, idem Karolus, dexteram suam super patenam cum Corpore Dominico et laevam super missale imprimens, dixit: "Nos K[arolus], juramus ad sacrosancta Corpus Dominicum et Evangelia, firmiter tenere penes nos pacem et concordiam firmatas inter duos reges, et nullo modo in contrarium venire"; et distributis reliquiis de corona Christi militibus Angliae in testimonium, omnibus valefecit.

Consequenti sexta feria, simile sacramentum, praesentibus dictis militibus ac aliis valentibus, dominus Edwardus, filius senior regis Angliae, praestitit apud Levers.[2] Ambo postea reges et eorum liberi, nobilioresque utriusque regni, infra annum proximo sequentem idipsum juramentum solempniter praestiterunt.

Ad[3] corroboranda et complenda praedicta et alia

1. By the careless omission of primogeniti the *Chron. Angl.* suggests wrongly that the oath of Edward III was to be received at this stage.
2. *i.e.* Louviers.
3. Ac, MS.; corrected from *Chron. Angl.*

partes praemissas concernentia, petiit rex Angliae majores Franciae in hostagium et obtinuit. Quorum vocabula dignitatum sunt: Duces: Aurileanum,[1] Andegaviæ,[2] Borgundiæ,[3] Langan,[4] Berry[5] et Blois;[6] Comites, autem, Dalason',[7] Seint Poul,[8] Darencourt,[9] Va|lentinoys,[10] Poursaint,[11] Beaumont.[12] f. 174 Forest,[13] Brayne;[14] dominos* vero de Reicei,[15] Priaunce,[16] Valentinoys, de Saint Venaunte,[17] de Gareniz,[18] de Angeste,[19] de Merenchy,[20] Daunsin d'Auvere,[21] de Croun,[22] Bois Harecourt[23] cum aliis.

Assignatisque tempore et loco quibus ambo reges cum consiliis suis praetacta ac sequentia ratificare, confirmare et alternatim sigillare convenirent, rex Angliae versus mare continuo proficiscitur et apud Houyflete[24] velificare coepit, exercitibus suis in partibus illis non modicam relinquens moestitiam. Qui, xix die Maii in Angliam applicitus, veniensque ad palatium Westmonasterii in festo beati Dunstani, infra triduum dominum Johannem regem Francorum in Turri Londoniarum visitavit et liberatum ab omni carcere, concordato prius de tribus milionibus florenorum solvendorum pro sua redemptione, in

1. Philip, duke of Orleans. 2. Louis, duke of Anjou. 3. Philip, duke of Burgundy. 4. Charles d'Artois, *count* of Longueville. 5. John, duke of Berry and Auvergne. 6. Louis, *count* of Blois. 7. Charles, count of Alençon. 8. Guy, count of St. Pol. 9. John VI, count of Harcourt. 10. Aymar VI, count of Valentinois. 11. John, count of Porcien. 12. Louis, viscount of Beaumont. 13. Count of Forez. 14. Simon, count of Braisne. 15. *Rectius*, Couci. 16. Jacques de Bourbon, lord of Préaux. 17. Robert, lord of St. Venant. 18. Yon, lord of Garencières. 19. Robert, lord of Hangest. 20. Charles, lord of Montmorency. 21. Béraud II, dauphin of Auvergne. 22. William, lord of Craon. 23. Louis d'Harcourt, nephew of Godfrey d'Harcourt (Baker p. 79). 24. Honfleur. Humflet, *Chron. Angl.*

* domino in MS.

omnibus locis ac[1] regiis solatiis et itinerantem ad propria regaliter confortavit. Nono igitur die Julii hoc anno, idem dominus Johannes, praedictis nobilibus Franciae prius in hostagio receptis, in propria transfretavit, tractaturus[2] cum terrigenis de praemissis ac aliis se et regnum [suum][3] concernentibus. Interim homines, animalia, arbores et aedificia in Anglia violenti fulgure subito perierunt; nam et diabolus in specie humana itinerantibus locutus fuit.

Convenientibus igitur in unum duobus regibus cum consiliis suis apud Calasium,[4] circa festum Omnium Sanctorum, ostensis conditionibus pacis et concordiae ex utraque parte sub manu publica
f. 174 b praefor|matis apud Carnotum et praetractis, absque conditione unanimiter concordarunt et gratiose.

Celebrata quoque missa solempni ibidem, post dictum ter "Agnus Dei" in Corpore Dominico ac missali ambo Reges, liberi eorum majoresque utriusque consilii et regni tunc praesentes non praejurati sacramentum praetitulatum penes se observare omnia composita et inter partes ordinata praestiterunt. Quorum articuli patent in sequentibus:

"Rex Angliae, una cum illis quae modo tenet in Vasconia, habebit semper civitates, villas, castella, comitatus et patrias de Peiters et de Peitou, cum feodis de Touard et terra de Bellevile, de Sauntes

1. The ac seems superfluous.
2. tractaturis, MS.; corrected from *Chron. Angl.*
3. Supplied from *Chron. Angl.*
4. Calastum, MS.

et Sainttonge, citra et ultra la Charente, de Englisme[1] et de Engolismois, et Limoges et Limosin, et Kaours[2] et Kaoursin, de Peragor et Peraguyus, de Rodes et Rouergues, d'Agent et d'Ageneye, de Tharbe, de Bygor,[3] et de Kaure.[4]

"Et si aliqui domini teneant aliquid infra limites dictorum locorum, facient homagium regi Angliae. Tenebitque rex Angliae praedicta modo quo rex Franciae tenuit ea a sexaginta annis hucusque, videlicet, in dominio quae sunt in dominio, et in superioritate [quae sunt in superioritate].[5]

"Habebit etiam ea quae reges Angliae antiquitus tenuerunt in villa de Monstroil super Mare, cum pertinentiis, et totum comitatum Pontiviae, exceptis rebus alienatis per reges Angliae ad alias personas quam reges Franciae. Quae sic alienata si rex Franciae teneat in praesenti, tenebitur ea reddere ac liberare regi Angliae, exceptis terris obtentis per escambium cum aliis terris; quo casu rex |· Angliae f. 175
reddet regi Franciae sic tradita per escambium, vel permittet alienari. Et si alienata sint alienata personis aliis quam regibus Franciae per reges Angliae, et postea venerunt ad manus regis Franciae per putagium vel aliam justam causam, rex Franciae non reddet ea nisi debeant homagium vel alia servitia; tunc tradet illa personis qui facient homagium vel alia servitia regi Angliae.

"Habebitque rex Angliae castella, villas et

1. *i.e.* Angoulême. 2. Cahors. 3. Bigorre. 4. Gaure. 5. Supplied from *Chron. Angl.*

dominium de Calays, Merke, Stangate,[1] Colne,[2] Hamme, Oye, Wale,[3] cum omnibus pertinentiis suis, ac civitatem de la Rochele et villam Sancti Walerici.[4]

"Habebit [etiam] rex Angliae castellum, villam et totum comitatum de Gaynes[5] cum omnibus ad se pertinentibus, ita integre sicut comes ejusdem ea tenuit in vita sua. Obedient et sibi omnes viri ecclesiarum et aliarum conditionum infra limites dicti comitatus, sicut obediebant aliquando regi Franciae seu comiti de Gaynes. Et tenebit rex Angliae omnia de Merke et de Calays contenta in praesenti articulo et articulo praecedenti in dominio, exceptis hereditatibus quae morantur ecclesiis ibidem, et hereditatibus aliis in partibus illis quae morabuntur heredibus, usque ad valorem centum librarum monetae de patria illa; sed de hereditatibus infra villam de Calays disponat[6] rex Angliae ad libitum suum, et sic habitantium in comitatu, villa et terris de Gaynes stabit dominium integrum.

"Rex vero Angliae et heredes sui omnes insulas
f. 175 b patriis praedictis adjacentes tene|bunt, una cum insulis quas tenent in praesenti.

"Et rex Franciae et filius suus senior, pro se [et][7] heredibus et successoribus suis, infra Sanctum Michaelem proximo futurum ad unum annum,

1. *i.e.* Sangatte. 2. Coulogne. 3. Le Wal. 4. Wallo, MS.; corrected from *Chron. Angl.* = St. Valery. 5. *i.e.* Guines.

6. ordinet, *Chron. Angl.*

7. Supplied from *Chron. Angl.*

tradent,[1] liberabunt et transportabunt regi Angliae et heredibus suis omnes obedientias, homagia, feoda, justicias, recognitiones, jurisdictiones, patronatus ecclesiarum, omnimodas dominationes, superioritates et omnia jura quae habent seu habere poterunt[2] in praedictis terris, patriis, et villis, et rebus aliis. Mittentque ad omnes superiores ecclesiarum, ac alios dominos temporales terrarum, patriarum, comitatuum, et locorum praedictorum, ut obediant regi Angliae et heredibus suis, sicut obediebant aliquando[3] regi Franciae, et per suas literas, se acquietabunt de omnibus homagiis, feodis, servitiis, obligationibus, subjectionibus et promissionibus, factis per aliquem illorum regi ac coronae Franciae.

"Et rex Angliae tenebit omnia praedicta in dominio quae rex Franciae tenuit in dominio, et in superioritate, quae in superioritate.

"Si vero aliquae donationes, alienationes, obligationes vel aliqua onera praedictorum fiebant per aliquem regem Franciae a septuaginta annis hucusque,[4] nulla erunt, et res alienatae, donatae, seu oneratae reddentur regi Angliae citra festum [Sancti][5] Michaelis proximo futurum; excepto quod supradictum est in[6] articulo de Pontieu,[7] quod permanebit

1. reddent, *Chron. Angl.*; reddent, tradent et deliberabunt, text of treaty, in *Foedera.*
2. potuerint, *Chron. Angl.*; potuerunt, Harl. MS. 3634.
3. Not in treaty or *Chron. Angl.*
4. a septuaginta annis usque nunc, *Chron. Angl.*; citra LXX annos, Treaty.
5. Supplied from *Chron. Angl.* 6. de, MS.
7. The word is not very clearly written in the MS.; hence the Poicieu of the transcript in Harl. 685 and of two MSS. of the *Chron. Angl.*, Bodl. 316, and Cotton, Faustina, B. ix.

in virtute sua, et exceptis omnibus collatis aut alienatis ad ecclesias, quae illis pacifice permanebunt.

"Habebit etiam rex Angliae et tenebit civitates, comitatus ac patrias praedictas, quae antiquitus non f. 176 erant | regis Angliae, sicut rex Franciae aut filius suus senior tenet in praesenti,[1] et infra limites patriarum praedictarum quae ab antiquo fuerant regis Angliae, cum aliquibus rebus [quae][2] aliquando fuerant ejusdem, unde rex Franciae in possessione praefuerat in die belli de Poitou,[3] erunt ac permanebunt regi Angliae.[4]

"Rex quoque Angliae omnia praedicta tenebit quasi vicinus regis Franciae, absque recognoscere superioritatem, facere homagium, resortem, seu aliqua servitia, vel recognitiones, regi aut coronae Franciae.

"Rex autem Franciae et filius suus senior renunciabunt dictae resorti, superioritati, et juri quae habent, seu habere poterunt, quae praesenti tractatu debent pertinere regi Angliae. Similiter et rex Angliae filiusque ejus senior renunciabunt omnibus quae per praesentem tractatum non illis traduntur, et exigentiis quas fecerunt per speciale nomini vel juri coronae Franciae, omnibusque homagiis et superiori-

1. In praesenti is misplaced in the MS. after limites.

2. Supplied from *Chron. Angl.*

3. Pecteu, *Chron. Angl.*

4. Clause X of the treaty runs : concordatum est quod, si, infra metas dictarum patriarum quae antiquitus fuerunt Regum Angliae, essent aliqua, quae alias non fuerunt Regum Angliae, in quorum erat possessione Rex Franciae die belli Pictavensis . . . illa erunt et remanebunt Regi Angliae, etc.

tatibus ducatus de Toregne,[1] Normanniae, et Britanniae, atque comitatus ac patriae [Flandriae],[2] Damoit[3] et Maigne, aliisque omnibus exigentiis quas fecerunt, seu facere potuerunt, regi Franciae pro qualicumque sit causa, exceptis illis quae sibi tradentur per praesentem tractatum.

"Rex quidem Franciae pro sua redemptione solvet regi Angliae tres miliones scutorum, quorum semper[4] duo valebunt unum nobile, scilicet sex solidos, octo denarios argenti (et est milio milies mille).[5]

"Et omnia tradita regi Angliae permanebunt in tali securitate ac libertate prout sunt in praesenti, et confirmentur | a dictis dominis et a successoribus f. 176 b
suis. Nec aliquis vel aliqua patria qui praefuerant sub obedientia unius partis, et per istam concordiam venient ad obedientiam partis alterius, pro factis praeteritis dampnentur.[6] Omnes etiam exhereditati, et de terris ablati, vel onerati aliquo onere seu redonatione,[7] quasi banniti[8] uni parti adhaerentes vel alteri, similiter et de ecclesiis, causa istius guerrae, restituenter in integrum cum omni jure, sicut ante guerram. Omnes quoque forisfacturae indul-

1. *i.e.* Touraine.
2. Supplied from *Chron. Angl.*
3. Baniot, Harl. MS. 3634, Cott. MS., Faustina, B. ix., Bodl. MS. 316. A corruption of d'Anjou.
4. Om. Treaty and *Chron. Angl.* 5. Not in *Chron. Angl.*
6. dampnetur, *Chron. Angl.*
7. redevance in the French text of the treaty.
8. limati—with a mark of contraction ou the head of the 'l'—in the MS.; apparently a transcriber's error, here corrected from Wals., *Hist. Angl.*, but the sentence, 'quasi banniti' . . . is itself a very confused reproduction of that assuring the restoration of the lands of exiles, which stands at the head of the clause in the treaty.

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geantur, exceptis vicecomitis de Fronsard[1] et domini Johannis de Gilard.[2]

"Confoederationes etenim bonae fient semper inter reges, non obstante qualicumque [confoederatione][3] quam habent cum aliqua persona. Rex tamen Franciae et filius suus senior, pro se et successoribus suis, regibus Franciae, se separabunt a confoederationibus quas habent cum rege Scotiae, absque juvare Scotos seu confoederationes facere contra regem Angliae aut regnum suum. [Similiter][3] et rex Angliae filiusque suus senior facient de confoederationibus quas habent cum Flandrensibus.

"Valebunt etiam omnes collationes ac provisiones[4] factae, durante guerra, per partes de beneficiis vacantibus et eorum fructus morabuntur ipsis qui eos levaverunt.

"Facientque reges omnia praedicta confirmari a domino papa, et impetrabunt absolutiones et dispensationes tangentes complementum praesentis tractatus.

"Poterunt etiam studentes utriusque regni in utroque regno, ubi sibi placuerit, studere, et gaudebunt privilegiis ac libertatibus studentium.

"Per istum quidem tractatum omnes alii tractatus et praelocutiones[5] factae temporibus praeteritis annullabuntur, nec partes juvare poterunt.

"Jurabitur et confirmabitur praesens tractatus a

1. *i.e.* Fronsac on the Dordogne.
2. Galard in Treaty and *Chron. Angl.*
3. Supplied from *Chron. Angl.*
4. promissiones, *Chron. Angl.* (incorrectly); provisiones, Wals., *Hist. Angl.*
5. So Wals., *Hist. Angl.*; prolocutiones, *Chron. Angl.*

duobus regibus, facietque rex Franciae literas confirmatorias | et alia necessaria sub manu publica, et f. 177 mittet regi Angliae, et rex Angliae remittet consimiles literas regi Franciae. Fientque literae optimae de omnibus praedictis, sub sigillis utriusque regis et filiorum suorum; et jurabunt ambo reges et filii eorum, vigintique de majori prole utriusque regni, tenere et complere ac teneri facere et compleri omnia praedicta, ponereque rebelles et inobedientes utriusque regni in veram obedientiam. Consurgent quoque ambo reges contra tales inobedientes, et per illud renunciabunt omnibus gentibus pro se et regnis suis futuris, causa inobedientiae praedictae; et se supponent coercioni et correctioni domini papae," et cetera.

Fiebant et hoc anno circa Adventum Domini praedationes[1] magnatum per patrias, sed, salvo custoditis civitatibus, cessabant latrocinia.

Obierunt et hoc anno magister Ricardus filius Radulphi, archiepiscopus Armachanensis qui longo tempore restitit falsis et erroneis mendicantium fratrum opinionibus de Christi pauperie, contra quos librum contexuit de eadem necessarium, et magister Johannes de Shepeie, episcopus Roffanensis et Angliae thesaurarius, Johannes de Treilek, Herfordensis episcopus, cum aliis potentibus; eratque communis mortalitas senium ac puerorum.

Anno gratiae M°CCC°LXI°, Innocentii papae ix, regni regis Edwardi tertii Angliae xxxv, celebrato solempniter Natali Domini apud Wyndessore,[2] idem

1. praedicaciones, MS. 2. Wodstok, *Chron. Angl.*

dominus rex venit Westmonasterium ad parliamentum, coeptum in vigilia Conversionis Sancti Pauli Apostoli et continuatum usque primam feriam sextam Quadragesimae. In quo, praesentibus omnibus qui
f. 177 b interesse poterant, proponitur | concordia stabilita, ut praefertur, inter reges, quae pluribus placuit. Igitur, ex praecepto regis, convenerunt in ecclesia Westmonasterii Dominica Sexagesimae,[1] secundo videlicet kalendas Februarii, praedicti Anglici et Gallici, ibique celebrata missa solempni de Trinitate ab archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, magistro Symone de Islepe, dicto "Agnus Dei," astanteque domino rege cum filiis suis, filiis quoque regis Franciae, cum aliis nobilibus, accensis luminaribus, crucibus erectis, super sacrosanctum Corpus Dominicum ac missale singuli ad hoc vocati, nec antea[2] jurati, hoc sacramentum in scriptis praestiterunt: "Nos R. de N.,[3] juramus ad sacrosancta Corpus Domini et Evangelia, firmiter servare penes nos pacem et concordiam formatas[4] inter reges, et nullo modo in contrarium venire."

Quo facto, singuli suas cedulas notariis regiis tradiderunt.

Postea, evolutis diebus sex, vi° videlicet die Maii, in vigilia Ascensionis Dominicae, lucente adhuc meridie, fuerat solis eclipsis. Sequebatur siccitas nociva, et ob defectum pluviae frugum, fructuum ac

1. Quadragesimae (xl^{e}), MS. 2. autem, MS.
3. archiepiscopo Cantuariensi incipiente, 'Nos archiepiscopus Cantuariensis,' etc., *Chron. Angl.*; archiepiscopo . . . Nos Nicholaus, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis,' etc., Wals., *Hist. Angl.*
4. Firmatas, *Chron. Angl.*

feni magna sterilitas. Et mense eodem, sexto kalendas Junii, cecidit pluvia sanguinea Burgundiae, atque crux sanguinea a mane usque ad horam sextam Boloniae apparuit in aere; tunc, eam[1] aspicientibus multis, se movebat, et in medio mari cadebat. Consequenter in partibus illis vulpes et lupi silvis egressi villas petierunt, homines vivos capientes devorabant.

Et eodem tempore | in Francia, Anglia et aliis f. 178
terris, pluribus qui videbant attestantibus, in locis planis, desertis inopinate apparuerunt duo castella, de quibus duo exercitus armatorum egrediebantur,[2] quorum unus signis militaribus, alter vero nigro colore ornabantur; et congredientes, milites vicerunt nigros. Iterumque obviantes, nigri superabant milites. Demum regredientes in castella, omnia disparuerunt. Et post festum Sancti Michaelis, statim rosariae produxerunt rosas colorem perfectum odoresque habentes. Corvi quoque [et][3] aucae ac aliae aves produxerunt et pullos.

Quo anno sedes Londoniensis vacavit per mortem magistri Michaelis de Northburwe[4]; cui papa providit de magistro Symone de Southburia, tunc auditore in curia Romana, et ecclesiae Eliensi, post[5] mortem fratris Thomae Lyle, tam propria instantia quam rogatu regis, de fratre Symone de Langham, tunc abbate Westmonasterii et in pastorem Londoniarum praepostulato. Reginaldo Bryan, episcopo Wigor-

1. Enim, MS.; corrected from MS. Laud, Lat. 5, f. 1b.
2. Exierunt, MS. Laud.
3. Supplied from *Chron. Angl.*
4. Northburgh, MS. Laud.
5. Per, MS. Laud.

nensi, successit per electionem magister Johannes de Berneth. Sublatoque de medio magistro Johanne de Treileik, Herfordense antistite, eligitur eidem magister Lodowicus de Carleton.

Obierunt insuper abbates de Bury, Redinge, Abbendoniae, praelatique quamplures omnium religiosorum; ac dominus Henricus, dux Lancastriae, Reginaldus Cobeham, Willelmus filius Warini, Johannes Moubray et dominae Maria et Margareta, filiae regis Angliae, sepultae apud Abbendoniam. Erat autem hoc anno mortalitas sexum masculinum
f. 178 b valde | consumens per pestilentiam. Maxime tamen dolendum fuit de vita muliebri; nam relictae, priorum maritorum amore oblito, in homines extraneos, plures in consanguineos, irruentes, impudicitiae falsos procreabant heredes, (sed et in multis locis, ut dicebatur, fratres sorores acceperunt in uxores), qui fuerunt in adulterio generati. Et erat temporibus istis mortalitas sine tristitia, etc., prout supra in anno gratiae millesimo, trecentesimo, quadragesimo nono. Postea vero multi cujuscunque status, gradus, aut ordinis de lapsu carnis qualicunque non curabant, fornicationem, incestum, seu adulterium ludum reputantes non peccatum.

Anno gratiae M^{o}CCC^{o}LXII^{o}, domini papae Innocentii x^{mo} et novissimo, regni regis Edwardi tertii Angliae xxxvi, hiemante eodem apud Wyndlesoram, xv die Januarii, ventus zephyrus sive auster, affricus, pessimus campanilia, turres, arbores, aedificia, alia-

que fortia prostravit et contrivit in frustra, debilibus parcendo, et tam in terra quam in mari bona consumpsit irrecuperabilia; vix in suo cursu domos aut arbores, quas prae montibus attingere poterat, aliquas reliquit integras. Nec quievit a flatu forti septem diebus ac noctibus contiguis. Per totum annum forte nequam spiritus praevenerunt praeconizata hastiludia in Chepe, Londoniis, videlicet, septem mortalia in omnes occurrentes peccata. Sequebatur pluviae inundatio tempore feni et messis, quae opera campestria plurimum impedivit.

Circa quos dies, frater Symon de Langham, abbas Westmonasterii, sua instantia literisque regiis me | diantibus, in Eliensem praesulem promovetur. f. 179
Utique in anno proximo praeterito, in festo Sancti Clementis, thesaurarius fuerat ordinatus. Qui, omni tempore quo abbas stetit ibidem, portionem conventus augere proposuit, fratresque bonos sincera diligens caritate, quorum orationibus, ut creditur, ad digniora semper ascendit. Ipse quidem, pro tunicis praedictorum, manerium de Fincheslee juxta Hendon impetravit, bonum successoribus relinquens exemplum. Successit eidem, concorditer electus, frater Nicholaus de Litlington,[1] prior ibidem, in claustralibus, spiritualibus ac temporalibus, sufficienter instructus; qui etiam simplex monachus plura bona dictae ecclesiae semper spontaneus procuravit, ad quaeque monasterio necessaria manum pro posse apponens adjutricem.

1. Lithington, MS.

Vendebatur et hoc anno libra cerae [pro][1] xviii*d*, ex malitia turpique lucro mercatorum.

Familiae quoque domini papae ac quorundam cardinalium, mota lite inter eos diabolica, compugnabant, et plurimi perierunt. Sed et Magna Societas, quae hoc anno sexto[2] praevaluerunt[3] in Francia, circa Quadragesimam proeliabantur cum Gallicis, et oecisa grandi eorum copia, captivatisque nobilioribus, recesserunt.

Super quae dominus Andrinus, abbas Cluniacensis, tertio die in fine Aprilis, venit Londonias, consulturus cum domino rege et[4] pro redemptione regis Franciae minoranda, hostiagiis liberandis, ac matrimonio contrahendo cum prole regis Angliae et Karoli de Blois, prudenter tractaturus. Et habita brevi deliberatione super praedicta per quosdam de
f. 179 b consilio | domini regis Angliae, responsus in paucis recessit confortatus.

Postea, quinque diebus in capite Maii, fiebant hastiludia pulcherrima Londoniis in Smethfelde, praesentibus rege, regina, majori militia Angliae, Franciae aliarumque regionum, et excellentioribus dominabus Angliae; quae, licet delectabilia, consumptis domibus vehementi igne, Hospitalis Sancti Johannis ibidem graviter deflevit. Venerunt consequenter Hispanni, Cipri ac Armenii milites, refugium et auxilium regis Angliae requirentes in paganos qui

1. Supplied from Wals., *Hist. Anglic.* Om. in *Chron. Angl.*
2. Sex annis, MS. Laud.
3. Praevaluerat, *Chron. Angl.*
4. Om., *Chron. Angl.*

fines suos invaserant. Quorum responsum popularibus latuit.

Nonobstante domini regis aliorumque majorum Angliae sacramento, mutatur stapula, pro mercatorum non regni utilitate, de Bruges in Flandria ad Calesiam in Picar[d]ia, et de palatio ac villa Westmonasterii Londonias, remanentibus ibidem, ob formam juramenti, paucis domibus cum lanis occupatis, [et] stateris ac ponderis pro eisdem.

Quo etiam anno, in Martyrio Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, dominus rex misit ad ecclesiam Westmonasterii vestes in quibus idem Apostolus Petrus missas celebravit. Ob quarum honorem dedit per cartam suam perpetuo duraturam duos cervos de venatione sua, capiendos annuatim de foresta de Wyndelsore, una cum octo damis concessis eodem modo ab antiquo, et deferendos apud Westmonasterium pro solempni processione in festo beati Petri ad Vincula.

In festo igitur Sanctae | Margaretae Virginis, f. 180
apud Westmonasterium, praesentibus Angliae nobilioribus, dominus Edwardus, regis primogenitus, factis eidem homagio ac fidelitate, principatum Aquitaniae recepit; Angliae[1] tâmen principatum ac Walliae, ducatum Cornubiae, Cestriae et Cantiae comitatum non reliquit.

Quo anno, in mense Augusti, magister [Symon] de Islep, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, cum consilio suffraganeorum devotionem multorum infecit, et antiquam sanctorum memoriam minoravit, literis

1. Omitted in *Chron. Angl.*

suis universis ecclesiarum rectoribus ac vicariis suae provinciae firmiter praecipiens et eorum subditis, non abstinere decetero in festis [quorundam][1] sanctorum ab operibus prius illicitis, ut operarios ad continuum laborem, uti quondam Pharao, rex Egypti, Hebraeos, provocaret; causam judicet qui mortem olim regis Angliae Willelmi Rufi, sanctorum ecclesias destruentis ut forestam ampliaret, in manus tradidit Sancti Albani protomartyris Anglorum. Assignavitque idem archiepiscopus non plus dari sacerdotibus pro annua pensione quam lxvi*s*. viii*d*.; quod plures furari coegit ac praedari.

Eodem anno, xvii kalendas Novembris, coepit parliamentum apud Westmonasterium, continuatum usque in festum Sancti Bricii episcopi, quem diem dominus rex Angliae Edwardus tertius asseruit nativitatis suae et annum quinquagesimum aetatis. Et ideo annum ac diem, suae gratiae sanctiori excitatus spiritu penes suos quam archiepiscopus penes sanctos, ut praedicitur, populum Anglorum sibi et regno fidelissimum plurimum commendavit. Majestatis regiae omnes reatus indulsit atque offensas,
f. 180 b vinculatos | liberavit et incarceratos, bannitos revocavit et exules, liberosque suos, dominum Leonellum ducem fecit Clarenciae, fratremque suum, dominum Johannem, ducem Lancastriae, Edmundum vero fratrem ejus, comitem Cantabruggiae. Aliisque plures gratias concessit.

In quo parliamento, conceditur domino regi per

1. Supplied from *Chron. Angl.*

tres annos subsequentes de quolibet sacco lanae transvehendo, xxvi*s*. viii*d*.

Statutumque fuit quod nullus imposterum placitaret nisi in lingua Anglicana, provisoresque nullos fieri in domibus regalium sed victualium emptores, et illos, nisi praesolutis denariis, aliquid emptum non asportare, strictoque judicio puniendos statuta transgredientes. Concito quaeque patria omnibus bonis per provisores spoliata abundare coepit, mercata victualium ceterorumque venalium in foribus dominorum stabant, populares prius egentes propriis rebus vixerunt, et maledictiones, detractiones ac murmurationes cessabant in vulgo.

Quo anno, in mense Augusti, dominus papa Innocentius Avinione diem clausit extremum; et canonice electus fuit dominus Gillerinus, abbas ordinis Sancti Benedicti Marciliacus,[1] doctor egregius et auditor in curia, secundo kalendas Novembris consecratus ; et dictus est Urbanus.

Obieruntque dominus Johannes, episcopus Lincolniensis, cui successit provisorie, mediante tamen gravi redemptione, dominus Johannes de Rokingham,[2] clericus sigilli domini regis. Vacante ecclesia Cicestrensi per mortem de medio Roberti episcopi ejusdem, papa providit de magistro Willelmo de Lynne. Tollitur et de medio domina Johanna, | filia f. 181
regis Angliae Edwardi secundi, et regina Scotiae, sepulta juxta matrem Londoniis in choro fratrum

1. Marciliacum, MS. ; Marciliacus, Bodl. MS. 316, Cott. MS. Faustina, B. ix ; Marcialicus, *Chron. Angl.* 2. *Rectius*, Bokingham.

Minorum. Moriebatur et quamplures in infirmitate litargiae, multa infortunia praedicentes; decesseruntque plurimi sexus feminini per fluxum; fuitque communis morina bestiarum.

Anno gratiae M°CCC°LXIII°,[1] Urbani quinti primo, regni regis Angliae Edwardi tertii xxxvii, hiemavit ipse apud Wyndelesoram. Cujus consequenter consilio mittuntur viginti quatuor mercatores electi de regno Angliae ad villam[2] Calesiae salvo custodiendam; sed fideliter non se gesserunt ibidem, prout dicebatur.

Quo etiam anno dominus papa pluralitates beneficiorum ecclesiasticorum revocavit, decernens, facto decretali "Horribilis," clericis praecipuis rectoriam solam cum quatuor praebendis per omnia sufficere, incipientioribus[3] vero minus. Ordinavitque fratrem suum episcopum Avinoniae[4]; et subsequenti proxima Parasceue dominum Johannem regem Franciae, una cum aliis regibus ac proceribus, cruce signavit. Qui Sanctam Terram vel aliquam aliam non amore Christi sed proprio lucro et honore visitabant.

Consequenter, inceptis solempnibus hastiludiis Londoniis, diabolici sacerdotem popularibus incognitum, amputato capite, visceribus effusis, abscissis virilibus, quarterizabant; quarteria quoque corporis per quatuor partes civitatis contemptibiliter pro-

1. MCCCXLVIII, MS. 2. villa, MS.
3. insipientioribus, MS.; minoribus, *Chron. Angl.* 4. Avienoniae, MS.

jecerunt. Pro quo facto horribili aliqua lex judiciaria non operabatur justitiam, nisi quod episcopus dictae civitatis in factores sententiam fulminavit excommunicationis.

Et licet hujus anni | tempus seminationis ac f. 181 b germinationis ventosum erat et pluviosum, campi tamen, arbores, et prata fructus suos ubertim produxerunt.

In partibus quoque transmarinis, diebus istis, inter Christianos et Saracenos bellum committitur utique fortissimum; in quo ceciderunt septem reges; set et utriusque exercitus vix aliquis [erat] nisi enormiter laesus; succurrente tamen Deo, cessit victoria Christianis. Sequebatur ventus ille zephyrus in vigilia, nocte ac die Sanctorum Martyrum Cosmae et Damiani, non minor illo in festo Sancti Mauri Abbatis anni proximo praeteriti, quamvis praeroborata non prostravit.

Quid regno Angliae et populo profuerunt statuta parliamenti in festo Beati Dionysii incepti et usque in diem Sanctorum Apostolorum Symonis et Judae continuati, ne mercatores cum merchandiis suis, vel ad vina aliave mercimonia petenda, transfretarent, et quod singuli artes singulas non plures exercerent, nec pannis pretiosis seu pelluris aliqui nisi valentes centum libras annui redditus uterentur (appreciantur victualia ceteraque venalia communiter, et plura gravia statuta fuerant, ut populares, operarii et agricultores, cibis aut potibus delicatis vesci non

deberent,) nisi occasionem malignandi ministrabant?[1] Nam statuta praedicta quaedam communitates in civitatibus et in villis sub poena capitali prohibuerunt f. 182 ne aliquis praeconizaret. Sedata tamen | eorum insania post dies aliquos per dominum regem, invitis praedictis, proclamari jussa sunt et observari. Erat tamen novissimus error pejor priore. Venerunt insuper tres reges, Franciae videlicet, Cipriae et Scotiae, visere et alloqui dominum regem Angliae; a quo plurimum honorati, reversi sunt ad propria; rex tamen Franciae Johannes, gravi detentus infirmitate, ab Anglia non recessit. Insuper et dominus rex Cipriae in itinere versus mare, circa festum Omnium Sanctorum, repatriando, bonorum suorum copia depredatus fuit per latrones et sacrileges, qui ecclesias ubique per patrias irrumpentes sacris omnibus spoliabant; deputatis tandem consilio domini regis ad custodiam viarum praepositis, sub poena respondendi de bonis furtive amissis inter villas, castigatisque malefactoribus secundum leges, statim cessabant latrocinia. Quamobrem et dominus rex concessit Londoniensibus infra civitatem suam hujusmodi praedones aliosque impios justificare, ac liberare incarceratos, justiciariis domini regis, ut prius solebant, non vocatis ad liberationes.

Orta consequenter gravi lite inter magistrum Willelmum de Linne, Cicestriae antistitem, et Ricardum comitem de Arundell', cujus prosecutione

1. The construction of this long and awkward sentence seems to be: Quid . . profuerunt statuta . . . . nisi occasionem malignandi ministrabant?

in Arcubus, Londoniis, excommunicatur episcopus ille per totum episcopatum suum. Unde pulsatus papa Urbanus, intermissis literis sub data Avinionae, vicesimo quarto die Novembris, sententiam annullavit, praedictumque antistitem Londonias transferre decernens, providens Cicestriae de magistro Thoma de Trelek, | tunc decano Londoniensi; magistrum f. 182 b vero Symonem de Sudburia, episcopum Londoniensem, transtulit Wigorniam, magistrum etiam Johannem de Barnet praesulem Wigorniae [ad] Bathonensem[1] vacantem per mortem magistri Radulphi de Salopia, cujus memoria inter electos numeratur. Attamen, non obstante translatione hujusmodi ac lite pendente, praefatus Cicestriae episcopus cum licentia, contra voluntatem, tamen, domini regis, transfretavit, contra praedictum comitem ceterosque adversarios suos litigaturus in curia Romana, nolens ecclesiam sibi a domino papa provisam aliqua tribulatione relinquere. Placato tandem summo pontifice literis supplicatoriis communitatis Londoniarum, illorum permisit episcopum immobilem [esse]; et profuit.

Obiit hoc anno in Hibernia domina Elizabetha ducissa Clarenciae, sepulta apud[2] sed de personis nobilibus pauci alii transierunt. Fuerat tamen morina communis animalium et magna caristia bladi, nam quarterium frumenti venit xv*s*.

Optime celebratum est generale capitulum ordinis Sancti Benedicti Abbatis hoc anno apud Norhamp-

1. *Sc.*, ecclesiam, or possibly a slip for Bathoniam.
2. Blank left for place of burial—Clare in Suffolk.

toniam, in festo Exaltationis Sanctae Crucis, praesidente abbate Sancti Albani cum aliis sapientibus; nam, praetermissis poenis praeceptoriis, quae saepius regulares innodant delictis, perpetuam memoriam statuere decreto fieri per totum ordinem generalem pro vivis ac defunctis, in omnibus officiis divinis, die ac nocte.

Anno gratiae M°CCC°LXIV°, Urbani papae secundo, regni regis Edwardi tertii xxxviii, inter cetera solatia Dominicae Nativitatis, quam apud Wyndelesoram
f. 183 celebravit in aula regia | ibidem, feriam sive mercatum pro forma statutorum ultimi parliamenti, judicia in transgressores, judices, officiarios, ac tormenta ordinari fecit, et ipse officiali veste occultatus delinquentes secundum statuta puniri procuravit. Quae consequenter Londoniis aliisque civitatibus ac villis praeconizantur teneri firmiter et observari statuta. Quam[1] forte gelu incipiens circa festum Sancti Andreae Apostoli, quasi in fine Novembris anni proximo praeteriti, perseverans usque quartum decimum kalendas Aprilis hujus anni, quod opera campestria artesque manuales plurimum impedivit.

Quo tempore abbas de Bello, itinerando versus Londonias, cuidam dampnato ad furcas in Marescallia domini regis inopinate obviavit; quem[2] virtute libertatum suarum secum ad Southwerk et ulterius reduxit. Cartas quoque suas ac libertates illas per placitum ibidem habuit approbatas.

1. *Sic*, in MS. ; perhaps the original reading was : Quae sequebatur.
2. que, MS.

Sequenti mense Maii, Longobardi et quidam comes Londoniensis de minoratione regiae monetae ac transvectione lanarum aliarumque venalium, non solutis debitis consuetudinibus regiis ministris, saepius convicti se misericordiae domini regis supponentes, non modica pecunia mediante cum favore dominorum, gratiam regalem invenerunt.

Immediate, diversis in partibus Angliae cecidere grandines quae fortia animalia occiderunt; attamen blada et vina abundabant, fructus vero arborum et fenum modice.

Et propter motam discordiam inter majores et populares Londoniarum, pro quibusdam cartis communitati contrariis, incarcerantur plures, et jussu domini regis vigiliae regales fiebant in civitate usque ad refor|mationem pacis. f. 183 b

In festo quoque Sancti Michaelis, super obsidentem villam cum castro de Avorye[1] in Britannia dominum Johannem de Monteforti ducem ejusdem, associato sibi domino Willelmo Latimer, cum aliis militibus manuque armata numerum mille sexcentorum non excedente, irruerunt inopinate dominus Karolus de Bloys, qui ex parte uxoris suae jus, licet injuste, vendicabat in eodem, ac alii nobiles et homines armorum tria millia sexcenti; factoque subitaneo ingressu[2] in superbia contra ruinam absque militari deliberatione, et[3] ceciderunt ex parte ducis veri heredis septem homines, et a parte Karoli

1. *Rect.*, Auray. 2. congressu, *Chron. Angl.*
3. Omitted in *Chron. Angl.*

intrusoris ipse cum domino de Richeforde,[1] Willelmo de Waugo,[2] cum aliis militibus ac armigeris nongentis, peditibus nusquam computatis. Insuper mirabilius accidit quod plures[3] erant captivati quam captores superstites, quoniam capti sunt comes Daunser[4] et [comes] de Juny[5] et domini de Pyse,[6] Broucourt, Mountfort, Aynan, Gargolay,[7] Matigneton, Davegor,[8] Foylie,[9] Mountabbam, comite Playdran[10], Hulke Saint Pere, Mauny, Mount Seint Gile, Mount Hynay, una cum aliis tredecim nobilibus ac aliis ad arma strenuis mille quingentis. Qui contulit victoriam laudetur Altissimus.

Post haec dominus[11] de Clifford, militesque quamplures de partibus borealibus ad sectam uxoris domini Johannis Copland nuper ibidem interfecti, capti vice-
f. 184 comitis procuratione, | de morte ejusaddicti incarcerantur; alii vero eadem timentes se Scoticae fidelitati ultro dederunt; sed in proximo sequenti parliamento apud Westmonasterium quidam liberantur accusati, captique fuerant accusatores.

Quo anno, quinto Idus Aprilis, obitus domini Johannis quondam regis apud Savoye, in hospitio ducis Lancastriae extra Templebarre, Londoniis, utrumque regnum, Angliae videlicet et Franciae, plurimum perturbavit. Dominus tamen rex Angliae

1. *i.e.* Rochefort. 2. d'Avaugour. 3. Populares, MS. (corrected in margin). 4. d'Auxerre. 5. Joigny. 6. ? Pisey. 7. Kergorlay.

8. Is this Guillaume d'Avaugour, who has already been mentioned as among the slain?

9. The Canterbury chronicle (below p. 219) has a dominus Clucstor (? Silvestre) de la Foill'.

10. For identification of this and other names see below p. 219.

11. domina, MS. John de Clifford of Ellingham, Northumberland, is the person referred to.

ejus exequias diversis in locis honorifice celebrari procuravit, ac extra regnum a dignioribus personis ejusdem regaliter conduci disposuit, propriis sumptibus.

Obierunt et hoc anno abbas Malmesburiensis, pluresque bellicosi, ut praedicitur, ac aliis in locis et Angliae coram justiciariis itinerantibus quamplurimi juste vel injuste dampnati ; sed et quidam sacerdos latro juxta hospitium episcopi Dunelmensis prope Westmonasterium, qui jocalia domini regis et reginae ibidem praedari proposuit dolose ac horribiliter, occisus fuit.

Anno gratiae M°CCC°LXV°, Urbani quinti papae tertio, regni regis Angliae Edwardi tertii xxxix, celebrato solempniter Natali Domini apud Wyndelesoram, rex ipse venit Westmonasterium ad parliamentum, continuatum ab undecimo kulendas Februarii usque ad tertium-decimum kulendas Martii. In quo pauca statuta, ob inconstantiam consiliariorum, pudet scribere, quoniam in praesenti consilio firmissime stabilita omni virtute carebant in proximo. Ut modernorum tamen futuri videant incon|stantiam et f. 184 b
caveant, aliqua erronea notare curatur, quoniam pessimum contra ecclesiam Catholicam proponitur in hoc consilio, summum pontificem idoneis literatisque personis episcopatus, alia quoque beneficia ecclesiastica imposterum non conferre, denarium Sancti Petri decetero [non][1] solvi, quem Ina quondam rex West-Saxonum, qui coepit regnare anno

1. Cp. *Brut,* p. 316.

gratiae DCLXXIX, primo Romae contulit, pro schola Angliae ibidem continuanda.

Medio tempore, septimo kalendas Februarii, in Aquitannia, civitate Agolisma natus est domino Edwardo, filio regis Angliae ac principi utriusque, masculus, qui baptizatus in ecclesia dignissima ejusdem civitatis, paterno nomine vocari meruit.

Verum, quia mercatores Angliae pro comparandis[1] pecuniam auream ac argenteam caute transportabant, prout constabat consilio regali, saepius, amissis omnibus suis cum vita, naufragantes; clerici quoque ob varia beneficia ecclesiastica impetranda et obtinenda in curia litigantes plurima consumpserunt; peregrini vero, eodem[2] pro negotiis et peregrinationibus suis transeuntes, in mari et itineribus periclitantes, plurima perdiderunt, prohibitum fuit sub gravi poena, dispositis ad transitus maris et portus custodibus omni parte regni, ne aliqui transmearent, nisi de licentia regis speciali, praeostensis sibi aut assignatis suis causis transeundi pecuniisque pro expensis suis necessariis. Decursis tamen paucis diebus, ut prius maria cum bonis transierunt.

Et temporibus istis, quia juratores, acceptis muneribus pro fidelitate ac justicia in partes dis-
f. 185 cernendis, | plures decipiebant, statuitur quod in talibus convicti accepta sic dona regis misericordiae decimabunt, quorum pars dimidia cedet regi, et partibus laesis altera. Expellenturque[3] a juridicis, ad aliquod juramentum postea nunquam admittendi.

1. A word evidently omitted here. 2. eadem, MS. 3. quia, MS.

Quo etiam anno, vicesimo tertio die Maii, pro causis sequentibus Avinionem, cum quingentis equitibus, dominus Karolus imperator ingressus, primam ecclesiam in itinere suo intrans, revestiri se fecit alba et capa rubea; imposita quoque capiti suo mitra ditissima, habente superius duas coronas aureas gemmatas et duo labella retrodependentia ac alia duo juxta aures, palafridum parvulum ascendit. Quem praecesserunt ordines religiosorum ac aliorum ecclesiasticorum numerus excessivus, simul et equitum, inter quos miles ante ipsum super hastam aquilam vivam continue volitantem portavit; alius miles super lanceam alteram sceptrum gessit imperiale, tertius a laeva ejus scutum suum cum lancea. Et ante faciem ejus quidam dux, religiose vestitus, gladium tulit evaginatum, ac ultra ipsum duosque cardinales, secum equitantes, octo marchiones ac comites pedites pannum operatum auro sive auro textum detulerunt. Sequebantur quoque eos duo dextrarii decentissime cooperti. Cui ad palatium ceteri cardinales et episcopi revestiti obviaverunt Demum,[1] palatium domini papae ingressus descendit, ipsum visitaturus; quem prope consistorium sedentem in ferculo, genuflectens adoravit, pedes, manus et os ejus osculando humiliter. Cum quo etiam intrans consistorium in facie ecclesiae quinque[2] | f. 185 b evidenter proposuit: Primum, se venisse, dixit, sedem apostolicam pedesque apostolici in persona

1. Denuo, MS. 2. A word (? res) apparently omitted after quinque.

vicarii Christi in terris, visere ac revereri; secundum, quod commendavit Deo summoque pontifici Urbano quinto fidem Catholicam ac universalem ecclesiam; tertium, quod petiit a papa Romam venire, promittens bona fide se ipsum cum omnibus suis ac aliis stipendiariis suis coiturum secum, salvum insuper et indempnem Avinionem, si postea sibi placeret, sumptibus suis reducturum; quartum, Sanctitati suae statum ac desolationem regnorum Franciae et Hungariae recognovit; quintum, quod placeret Sanctitati suae convocare clerum nobilioresque regnorum vicinorum colloqui et remedium ponere regionibus praedictis ac aliis destructis per pilardos et praedones, ut destruerentur et auferrerentur a locis suis, seipsum cum omnibus suis in hujusmodi auxilium spondens paratum. Qui, die penultimo Maii, omnes cardinales ac alios pro modo patriae convivavit.

Praedicantur interim plura gravia futura, quoniam superior fieret triplex conjunctio: prima, Martis et Jovis quarto die Augusti hoc anno, in vicesimo gradu Librae; secunda, media Martis et Saturni nonodecimo die ejusdem mensis, in tricesimo gradu Librae; tertia, major Jovis et Saturni tricesimo die Octobris ejusdem anni, etiam octavo gradu Scorpionis; qualis non accidit a ducentis annis. Praeteritisque temporibus, diebusque praedictis elapsis, regratietur Altissimus, Anglis, nisi in animalibus, non nocuerunt. Etenim pluvia tempore falcationis
f. 186 fenum ac bla|da consumpsit, atque conflictus passerum per diversa loca hiis diebus cadavera post

se in campis reliquit innumera. Praevenit et sequebatur pestilentia non praevisa; nam plurimi lectos suos ingrediebantur sani, et subito exspirabant. Morbillae, quae Anglice dicuntur " Pokkes," diversa hominum et animalium inficiebant genera et interficiebant. Adhuc et ventus ille zephyrus, qui tribus annis praeelapsis fortia multa contrivit, in capite Decembris monasterium Radyngi cum vicinis locis horribiliter laceravit; ibique diabolus in specie deformi apparuit. Nec mirum; levitas enim Anglorum alienigenarum insaniae indumentorum varietate semper adhaerens, nec futura propter hoc praevidens mala, caputiis parvulis, quae scapulas tegere valebant, laqueatis cum alis botenatis mento strictissime, tipettatis ad modum cordarum, insuper Paltoks aliis vestibus curtissimis lanis ac aliis tenuis obturatis ac consutis per totum, quae anos suos seu verenda celare nequiverunt, caligis etiam tibiis longioribus ad curta vestimenta colligulatis ligulis quas harlotes, gadelinges et lorels vocabant, sotularibus quoque lateraliter rostratis, ac cultellis longis inter tibias dependentibus, atque capellis panneis retortis ad formam caligarum seu manicarum aptatis, uti coeperunt. Quorum deformitates et stricturae non Deo vel sanctis, dominis suis nec sibi invicem genuflectere, servire aut revereri absque grandi miseria sinebant; quamplures | etiam in conflictu hostili f. 186 b
periclitari cogentes. Malitia, dolis, simulationibus, ac maleficis infecti quaeque antiqua gravia et honesta ac mores in actibus, gesturis, et locutionibus sinistre

pervertentes, virgines deflorare, sponsarum ac matronarum castitatem violare, solatium non delictum aestimabant; non propriis viri uxoribus nec nuptae sponsis, sed plus alienis contenti[1] falsos quamplures procreabant heredes. De clericidio in universitate Oxoniensi, ac morte abbatum de Bello et Thorneye, ac domini Ricardi de la Vache militis, aliorumque magnatum, et aliis praedictis qui subito moriebantur, multi condolebant.

Obiitque dominus Robertus de Elyngham, subdecanus palatii domini regis Westmonasterii; in extremis propria ductus conscientia exemploque canonicorum capellae ibidem, Walteri de Weston et Thomae de Stapilford, furtivam non canonicam exemptionem dicti loci absque consensu abbatis et conventus Westmonasterii impetratam hesitantium, non in palatio, sed in ecclesia et cimiterio monasterii praedicti ac Sanctae Margaretae corpora sua sepeliri humiliter requirentium, petivit etiam ipse devote humari; et jacet ante altare beati Benedicti abbatis in eodem monasterio.

Anno gratiae M°CCC°LXVI°, Urbani quinti papae iv°, regni regis Edwardi tertii xl°, ecce post celebratam Dominicam Nativitatem apud Wyndelesoram, rex ipse cum paribus regni [venit] Westmonasterium ad consilium coeptum secundo Idus Januarii. In qua nocte, ut occidentalibus apparuit, post occasum solis

1. contempti, MS.

usque ad ortum, rubor[1] nimius | totum firmamentum f. 187
contexuit; nunc sanguineos nunc igneos albosque radios retrogrados emittens ex se, terram cum superedificatis[2] quasi dies prospicientibus illuminavit. In quo stellae micantes ultra solitum sibi invicem per partes adhaeserunt. Cujus cursus ab oriente in occidentem defluxit.

Per quod consilium, propter quasdam accusationes veras, Adam de Bury, tunc major Londoniarum, sub manucaptione proborum civium ejusdem civitatis deponi jubetur, et eo fidelior eligi; unde populares consurgentes illum propria domo invitum extrahentes, in aula communi civitatis contra regis voluntatem in sede posuerunt, ipsum vendicantes et conclamantes et non alium majorem se velle habere; et exeuntes vix ab homicidio se abstinebant. Interveniente tandem saniori consilio, pro periculis imminentibus electi sunt ducenti cives fidedigni, videlicet de qualibet warda viginti, una cum aldermannis, ad consilium, accessu vulgi prohibito et secluso sub gravi poena. Qui, quinto kalendas Februarii, non obstantibus antiquis consuetudinibus civitatis, alium dignum elegerunt, statuentes quod hujusmodi consilio peritorum et non populari electiones decetero ac quaeque ardua agenda in civitate fiant. Ille vero honore privatus ibidem diu non comparuit, sed in partibus transmarinis moratus, tam in exenniis quam in conviviis ac donis dominorum

1. See also MS. Laud, Lat. f. 1b.
2. superedificiatis, MS.

Angliae illuc accedentium gratiam domini regis sibi adoptavit; rediit dilectus ad propria.

Medio tempore, praeconizatur parliamentum fieri apud Westmonasterium circa Inventionem Sanctae Crucis, vocatis singulis interesse consuetis ac ceteris quadraginta libratas valentibus per annum, ut
f. 187 b dominus rex eorum consilio certifica|retur quot homines armorum, sagittarios ac alios armatos omni tempore pro expulsione hostili haberet, videlicet, quod quisque decem libras annui redditus valens annuatim, cujuscunque status, tenens per scutagium, staret in propria persona pro homine, seu hominem inveniret ad arma, secundum valorem bonorum suorum, ascendendo vel descendendo.

Ad quod parliamentum pauca alia fuerant expedita, nisi quod fratres ordinis Sancti Runcivalle possessiones cum antiquis libertatibus in regno Angliae, ostensis cartis, obtinuerunt cum omnibus incumbentibus. Qui mox apud Westmonasterium, in suis juxta Cherringe, mansiunculam restruxerunt pro hospitali scandali; nam falsata bulla de indulgentiis excessivis inter eos reperta statum illorum et enfamiam denigravit, ac oblationes cum elemosynis minoravit.

Et ad idem parliamentum dominus de Courcy, sponsus dominae Isabellae, filiae domini regis Angliae, factus fuerat comes Bedefordiae. Licet insuper dominus Edmundus, filius domini regis, comitatum Cantabruggiae per quatuor annos elapsos pacifice tenuerat, tamen comes Annoniae, consan-

guineus dominae Philippae[1] reginae Angliae, ad parliamentum hoc veniens, jus in eo vendicavit; et placatus recessit.

Hujus quoque assensu parliamenti non clerici sed milites curiae Romanae[2] directi sunt, mille marcarum argenti concessi domino papae Innocentio tempore Johannis Angliae regis de eadem et Hibernia, ac hiis diebus a dicta curia instanter requisiti, clamium et annuam solutionem annullare, ceterasque civitates et alia domino Lancastriae ab olim virtute nuptiali pertinentes, ac diu in morgagio positas, vendicare; et breviter responsi redierunt.

| Consequente mense Junii, in praedam ac spolia- f. 188
tionem Angliae magna classis Danorum in mari boreali convenit; quae a nautis aliisque pugnatoribus partium illarum dissipata, confusa repatriavit. Una tamen robusta navis dictae classis ab Anglis transvelificata periit; in qua senescallus ac alii potentes Daciae captivati, per consilium regium incarcerantur. Quosdam postea requirentes a praedicto consilio, cum bonis suis amissis, non placati responso revertebantur, relinquentes post se in hospitiis scripta:

"Yuet schulle Danes waste thies wanes."[3]

Scriptor quidam Anglicus praesentium:

"Here shall Danes fett hir banes."[4]

1. Johannae first written but erased. 2. *Sic* in MS.
3. ȝet shull Danes þes Wanes, *Brut*, p. 317; yet shall Danes bring you Wanes, Barnes, *Hist. of Edw.* III, p. 717.
4. Her shull Danes fett banes, *Brut*, *loc. cit.* (two MSS. read sette her banes); Here shall Danes fett their Banes, Barnes, *loc. cit.*

Et ecce dominus Humfridus comes Herfordiae, quamvis juvenis, intellectis famosis gestis militaribus domini Thomae de Bello Campo, comitis Werwikiae, ac aliorum Angliae nobilium nuper in Saracenos quam humanitus et honorifice se gesserunt, quamplures convertentes ad Christum, e quibus filium regis Lettowe comes ille, proprio nomine baptizatum, de lavacro suscepit, cum quo ac aliis nobilibus nonodecimo die Maii hujus anni in Angliam venit ad dictum parliamentum, cum duobus armigeris clam se transtulit versus partes illas, ut consimile sibi nomen aptaret.

Medio tempore, dominus Petrus rex Hispaniae quia Saracenam duxerat, prout dicebatur, inconsultis paribus suis, illata sententia in curia Romana, regno suo contemptibiliter privatus et ejectus fuit, et spurius quidam dominus Henricus, frater suus, intronizatus. Quod factum principes Christiani, ne sibi, latenter opposita aliqua causa per curiam praedictam, consimile aut pejus eveniret, moleste ac dedignanter
f. 188 b ferebant. Unde reges Naveriae et Malogriae, | considerantes dominum regem Angliae suosque per lineam generationis dominae Alienorae, quondam filiae regis Hispanniae, domino regi Edwardo, filio regis Angliae Henrici tertii, nuptae, decedente absque liberis dicto Petro, jure hereditario propinquiores, communicato consilio, assumptoque secum dicto rege deposito, in Acquitaniam properantes nobili ac devoto principi ejusdem, domino Edwardo, domini regis Angliae primogenito, in praebendis sanis

consiliis divinitus inspirato, humiliter praesentabant, de praemissis ejus consilium et auxilium lacrimabiliter requirentes et instanter principem devotum advenire. Qui toto tempore sui principatus divino officio et honori aliquando negotii secularis nichil praeponens,[1] ab inquietudine seu invasione suorum omni ecclesiam Deique servos cum suis bonis undique liberans, condignis privilegiis ac libertatibus munivit. Spiritualibus vacans studiis, conjuge foedere nuptiali suscepta, cum alia nunquam se instituit, ab adulatoribus, simulatoribus ac detractoribus, velut a venenatis, fugiens, illorum non aliquando consilio, sed peritissimorum senium dominii sui agenda quaeque ardua sapienter tractabat. Quorum quidem consilio, intellectis articulis a dictis regibus requisitis, Apostolicae veritus auctoritati obviare, donec praedictorum de meliori agendo secundum sui genitoris consilium deliberaret, diu renuit consentire. Diutinis tandem questibus tantorum pulsatus nobilium ac precibus, intermissis patri literis querelis ac consiliatoriis praemissa seriatim et alia continentibus, paternumque inchoare et continuare poscentibus auxilium, una cum regiis epistolis lacrimabilibus, consolationem opemque de injuriis | non solum sibi sed et aliis regibus infli- f. 189
gendis, nisi errata militari arbitrio ocius corrigantur, postulantibus, quibus diligenti peritorum deliberatione inspectis, rex tristis de spoliatione regali stupens miratur; remissis tamen literis consolatoriis

1. proponens, MS.

fratri fraternum promittens auxilium, cum paterna maternaque benedictione ac manu armata partem desolatam ad spem confortans meliorem, et filium armavit regiis hostibus, favente gratia Dei, viriliter resistere. Paternis igitur rescriptis nobilis ille princeps una cum regibus animatus, coram convocato consilio, ante manucaptam querelam, regem depositum terribili innodavit sacramento, videlicet, ut pro suo perpetuo fidem Catholicam perfecto corde colere debeat, sanctam ecclesiam cum ministris suis omnibus manutenere et a malis tueri; illorumque infestatores acriter perturbare; jura, libertates ac privilegia eorum augere ac meliorare; universaque ab eis quovismodo per se vel per suos ablata citissime restituere nec aliqua imposterum ab eis violenter detrahi aut auferri permittere; Saracenos aliosque incredulos a suo regno omni nisu expellere, nec aliquos tales pro aliquo censu habitare ibidem permittere; post relictam Saracenam uxorem seu concubinam suam, acceptaque Christiana conjuge, nunquam postea cubile alterius ascendere seu thorum violare; omnia praemissa fideliter servare, continuare ac complere temporibus suis.

Astricti sacramento coram notariis, receptis in testimonium dictis regibus et aliis, princeps ipse gloriosus depositi regis causam ac querelam tunc
f. 189 b manu sumens, ac restitutionem cum | adjutorio Dei promittens, in praeparationem pugnae manum armatorum protinus convocavit.

Consequenter, dominus Johannes, nobilis dux

Lancastriae, jussu domini patris sui regis Angliae, ad partes Acquitannicas se viriliter paravit. Mota tamen discordia inter ipsum et dominum Edwardum Dispensarium pro quibusdam terris aliisque causis latentibus, a proposito suo partim impeditur. Tandem, convenientibus dominis ad consilium ac mediantibus, gratiose concordati fuerunt. Statimque post Sanctum Michaelem, ad fratrem suum principem Acquitanniae ad praedicta reformanda, cum ingenti exercitu velificavit. Et ecce immediate, super zabulum Scotici maris, aspicientibus plurimis, tribus diebus contiguis duae aquilae, quorum una venit ab Austro, altera vero ab Aquilone, crudeliter colluctabantur; vicit tamen Australis et, ne Aquilonaris respiraret ungulis ac rostro illam lacerans, revolavit ad propria. Sequebatur ante solis ortum et post, penultimo die Octobris, quod stellae conglobatae, ad modum fulguris igneos post se radios relinquentes, in terram, prout aspicientibus apparuit, e coelo ceciderunt, quarum fervores vestes itinerantium ac capillos urebant; et consumebantur super terram. Adhuc ventus ille zephyrus[1] pronus semper ad mala a vigilia Sanctae Katerinae usque in tertium diem bona perdidit irrecuperabilia. Irruerunt, insuper, | f. 190
circa dies praedictos fulgura, tonitrua, nix ac grandines, quae homines, bestias, domos, arboresque frustrabant. Quo anno ante festum Sancti Barnabae Apostoli, Londoniis, quidam serviens ad arma, cognomine Cornwaille, cum scorta sua, filio, et coco, qui in

1. Cp. above, pp. 150, 157.

latrociniis, sacrilegiis, adulteriis, virginum ac matronarum defloratione et homicidiis convicti [fuerant], ille cathena ferrea, ceteri funibus suspendebantur. De quorum consilio alii duo scelerati, qui Johannem Spenser cognatum domini Edwardi Dispensarii in sterculinio crudeliter occisum projecerunt, unus tractus sed ambo cathenis suspensi sunt.

Obiit et hoc anno quidam artifex lignarius qui annis quindecim praeteritis diabolo servivit, ut ceteros carpentarios excelleret operando. Ille finis sui praescius a sociis petiit, ne aliquid quod posset laedere alicui circa se permitterent. At illum,[1] sublatis omnibus, in camera vacua collocantes ut sompnum caperet, redierunt; clamore cujus paulo post excitati, cameram ingredientes propria viscera de ventre extrahentem reperierunt; quae adhuc calida in utero reponentes, vicinos[2] in testimonium sacerdotesque cum Corpore Dominico convocarunt, ac ubi secrete et palam de peccatis confessus cum sacro viatico in fide Catholica decessit.

Quo tempore, Archipresbyter in partibus transmarinis a quodam suorum in concursu hastarum lancea periit perforatus.

Et licet, vacante sede Cantuariensi per mortem magistri Symonis de Iselep quinto kalendas Maii,
f. 190 b conventus ejusdem loci in priorem illorum, | dominum Willelmum Wyntoniensem episcopum, magistrum Willelmum de Lynne, episcopum Cicestriae, tunc in curia litigantem pro ecclesia sua, et magis-

1. Ille, MS. 2. in vicinos, MS.

trum Willelmum de Wittleseye episcopum Wigornensem discorditer consenserunt, divina tamen providentia, conversatione bona et eufamia fratris Symonis de Langham, tunc episcopi Eliensis, dominus papa certificatus dictae ecclesiae metropoli providit de eodem. Nunc igitur quia in Anglicana ecclesia archiepiscopatu nemo potest altius ascendere, cujus gratia talem sublimavit laudetur Omnipotens, ut infra octodecim annos a decimo die Aprilis anni Jubilaei quo in priorem et septimo-decimo die Maii in abbatem Westmonasterii, et circa finem mensis Julii anno eodem Avinione a domino papa Clemente sexto,[1] septimo die mensis Septembris in choro dicti monasterii stallatum, qui locum illum, nimis inde ditatum, suis parcens, in brevi sapienter relevavit, fratres ejusdem honorificentius solito dirigendo; cujus sapientia cum religiosa conversatione cognita, post decem annos suae praelatiae dominus rex in thesaurarium regni constituit, vacanteque sede Eliensi idem dominus rex literis suis in tercio anno dicti officii in episcopum promovit ejusdem. Quo etiam anno, circa festum Michaelis, expertis sanis ejus consiliis, prudentia, et sapientia in singulis agendis, ipsum in officio cancellarii a domino Willelmo, Wyntoniensi episcopo, dudum relicto praefecit. Qui hoc anno, | octo-decimo a sua f. 191
prima praelatia, in primatem totius Angliae gratia et merito sublimatur.

Privatur in hoc anno, in mense Octobris, pontifice

1. There is an obvious omission here ; ? confirmatum.

bono sedes Wyntoniae, defuncto domino Willelmo de Edyndton, qui elemosynas et munera ante mortem largissime distribuit, quae suae saluti nimis creditur profuisse; pro tempore officii thesaurarii et cancellariae Sanctum Jacobum Apostolum ac Stephanum Protomartyrem ab obedientia principis Apostolorum beati Petri Westmonasterii furtive, teste patria, segregavit. Cui sedi papa, literis aureis pulsatus ac precibus, providit de quodam serviente domini regis Willelmo Wikham, timore plus quam amore pulsatus,[1] relictis dignioribus praeelectis. Eu! mammona iniquitatis indignos levat in praelatos.[2] Olim Salvator supra firmam petram fundavit ecclesiam, cujus modo columnae, videlicet quamplures praelati, non merito vitae vel scientia, sed auro eriguntur et argento.

Anno gratiae M°CCC°LXVII°, Urbani quinti papae quinto, regni regis Edwardi tertii xli°, quo solempnizatur[3] Natale Domini apud Wyndelesoram, inaudita mirabilia apud nostrates patuere. Etenim in Anglia adeo crevere latrones, quod vix regulares ornamenta ecclesiastica a raptoribus salvare potuerunt, seu itinerantes bona ac corpora die ac nocte. E quibus quidam Hugo de Lavenham, tam proprio luxu quam metu mortis malefactoribus saepius associatus, praedones, latrones periculaque
f. 191b viarum ex omni parte regni et extra ejus limites, | optime novit; coepit insuper dux hujusmodi ac

1. pulsato, MS. 2. praelatis, MS. 3. solempnizantur, MS.

doctor esse. Desperans tandem de propria salute si in talibus usque in finem vitae perseveraret, conversus ad gratiam, intermissis literis ac proprio ore et actu tales sceleratos eorumque fautores receptatores detexit, adduxit, incarcerari instanter procuravit; accusationibusque suis veris obviantes vel contradicentes, seipsum audacter offerendo, ad singularem pugnam provocavit. Quorum septem nequam suspensos duosque quoque propria manu in campi bello interfectos obtinuit fortissimos, auxiliante sibi virtute divina. Cujus opera ita domino regi suisque fidelibus[1] placuerunt, quod carta sua reatus omnes et transgressiones a sua nativitate usque ad datum vicesimo die Januarii hujus anni gratiose indulsit, sub protectione sua ubicunque destruit[2] malefactores illum suscipiens, et ad victum suum quotidie sex denarios contulit cum regio favore et accessu ad mensam ejus famularem, quotiens sibi placuerit. Eodem exemplo, alii duo conditionis ejusdem vel pejores a praedicto Hugone appellati, regiaque protectione armati, consortes malos bene accusare et usque ad mortem persequi coeperunt.

Quae tunc tristitia et malorum confusio, laetitia ac gloria proborum, cum sero ac mane viatores, peregrini, ac mercatores cum venalibus securi per totum regnum ire et reverti potuissent et illaesi!

Medio tempore, properanti domino regi Westmonasterium ad consilium, nuncii Hispanniae, Mediolani,[3] Flandriae, Scotiae ac Daciae variis

1. Ita repeated by a slip after fidelibus in MS. 2. Destruitur, MS. 3. Mediolanum, MS.

f. 192 neg|otiis partes suas tangentibus, occurrerunt; quorum responsa popularibus latuere. Scotis tamen, quia ad parliamentum circa Eboracum venire, vel tempore guerrae ad auxilium regis Angliae universi hominum armorum ab olim promissum propriis sumptibus destinare, seu regis sui captivati,[1] in fide sua ad propria remissi, redemptionis summam aretro debitam solvere contradixerunt, rex ipse dedignanter respondit: "Vos degeneres et dolosi, canitiem meam spernentes, refertis in alterutrum: 'rex Angliae jam senuit, amplius impotens proeliari; insulanos, stipendiariosque alienigenas ad opem nostram invitantes, ipsum antiqua militia viduatum, nostris thesauris alienisque divitiis locupletatum, omni nisu festinemus inquietare.' Insidias, proditiones, minasque vestras vobiscum diffido. Hactenus, teste Deo, Christiani cruoris verens effusionem, diris vulneribus vestrae proditioni condignis peperci. Ad propria propere properantes, faciem meam sub periculo vestro ultra visuri. Mea pueritia quae dudum veterana stirpis vestrae capita cum capillis audacter abrasit, senectam noveritis fortiorem modo et audaciorem primipilorum colla cum gallis abscindere. Propterea praevei[2] propriis properate[3] popularibus, propugnacula pugnatum[4] prospera praeparare." Concito comitem Cantabruggiae convocans, vindici vultu vovit: "Pudet propriam personam praedonibus

1. captivati ad, MS. 2. *Sic* in MS. Widmore suggested pueri (Lansd. MS., 791). 3. properare, MS. 4. pugnantium, Widmore.

patriis proeliatum propinquare; partes proditorias praedis potenter privabit puberculus | praesens, f. 192 b penultima proles progeniei meae." Quibus auditis, Scoti velut a facie furoris Dei recedentes, communicato consilio, intermissis literis, protinus Danos, Northwagenses, ceterosque insulanos sibi in depopulationem Anglorum confoederabant; horum militiam potentiorem ac homines armorum meliores partibus in remotis cum principe Aquitaniae ac fratre ejusdem, duce Lancastriae, morari illis certificantes, divitiis inenarrabilibus triumpho potientibus insuper Angliam spoliare. Qui, consequenter, in partibus Ultoniae ac aliis in igne et in ore gladii plura consumpserunt. Talibus et ipse dominus Karolus rex Franciae animatus, cum fratre suo Philippo ad Sanctum Odomarum[1] a latere Calesiae descendit, et[2] ubi, audito Anglorum infortunio, quod absit, statim filiam comitis Flandriae fratri suo matrimonio copularet, allatis quoque secum redemptionis patris sui a retro debitis, domino regi Angliae dolose satisfaciens, nobiles Franciae hac de causa illuc detentos ejus potestate liberaret, sicque fraudulenti ac perjuri proditoribus Scotis Angliam invadentes vastando obviarent. Sed judex verax, qui justis fideliter certantibus victoriam praestat de inimicis, ipse coram filiis regis Angliae angelum suum praemisit, ut victores postea votivius ei famulari, ac ejus colere obsequia, et praedicare magnalia deberent.

Circa finem igitur Martii, coadunatis exercitibus

1. *i.e.* St. Omer. 2. et seems superfluous.

praeparatisque necessariis actibus pugnae, dominus
f. 183 Edwardus princeps praedictus, | comitante secum domino Johanne, duce Lancastriae, fratre suo, una cum nobilibus dominis, domino Petro vero rege Hispaniae sed injuste privato regimine, Johanne de Ferre[r]s, Johanne Chaundos, Roberto Cnolles, Thoma Offord' et Jacobo de Audelee, cum aliis militibus in armis strenuis ac triginta millibus hominum validorum, praeordinato custode Aquitaniae comite de Fous,[1] per Alpium iter periculosum ductor egregius illaesus, exceptis paucis, Hispanniam gloriose[2] intravit. Cui dominus Henricus intrusor in campo Priazers[3] super ripam Nazers, cum gente ac equis impenetrabiliter armatis, numerum centum millium diversarum nationum excedente, quibus nec equis illorum sagittarii fortissimi aliqualiter nocere [potuerunt], superbus et audax, quasi de victoria securus, contra consilium in armis ac rebus bellicis instructorum occurrit pompose.

Qui, tertio die Aprilis, proelia conjunxerunt[4] ibidem cruentissima; et ecce acies adversorum robustissima sua virtute justam partem ingenti spatio retrogradi cogens, divina gratia adhaerente ultra vires humanas, a nobile duce Lancastriae[5] cum exercitu suo, antequam dominus princeps sibi appropinquaret, potenter dissipatur. Quo viso, dominus Henricus intrusor cum pluribus suorum tanta vi in fugam vertitur, ut

1. *i.e.* Foix. 2. gratiose, MS. 3. or Prazers. 4. conjuxerunt, MS. 5. In the MS. the words domino duce are carelessly inserted after Lancastriae.

multitudo copiosa in supradicto flumine ac de ponte ejus corruentes subito perierunt. De Anglis vero fugientes insequentibus ille validus bellator dominus Johannes Ferre[r]s cum aliis | viginti de familia ducis f. 193 b praedicti; ac tum in loco belli de adversariis cecidere Shenco Donesveske,[1] Schenco Senchus de Roges,[2] Garsy Bisies,[3] Ganselivus Gomus de Civeris,[4] Albaris Ferandus de Bosco,[5] Johannes Servitor[6] una cum aliis sex millibus strenuis ac hominibus armorum; janitariis, pavisariis, balistariis aliisque pugnatoribus adversae partis interfectis, de quibus pro multitudine certus numerus non constabat, nusquam numeratis. Et capti fuerunt dominus Schenco frater Bastardi,[7] comes de Doune,[8] dominus Johannes Martyn de Lune,[9] dominus Johannes Bimers de Naurgalane.[10] dominus Bertrandus Cleikin,[11] marescallus Doudenham,[12] dominus episcopus de Reliomis,[13] dominus de Castro,[14] Petrus Heurik,[15] Petrus Lupus Dariale[16] cum fratre Diatalepus,[17] Garcius Alborti de Tallado,[18] Redus de Roges,[19] dominus Bertrandus de Gaberye,[20] Petrus Ferandus de Blaske,[21] Petrus Ganselivi de Medasco,[22] Johannes Senchus de Mescoste,[23] Alba

1. Inigo Lopez de Orozco. Where not otherwise indicated the names are restored from Ayala, *Cronica del Rey Don Pedro* (1875), pp. 557-8. 2. Sancho Sanchez de Rojas. 3. Garci-Laso de la Vega. 4. Gonsalvo Gomez de Siveris (?). 5. Alvaro Ferrand de Bosco (?). 6. Juan Rodriguez Sarmiento. 7. Don Sancho. 8. El Conde de Denia, marques de Villena. 9. Juan Martinez de Luna. 10. Juan Ramirez de Arellano. 11. Bertrand du Guesclin. 12. le Maréchal Arnoul d'Audrehem. 13. Or Relionus; query whether a corruption of Battalium (Badajoz). The bishop of Badajos was among the prisoners (Ayala). 14. Felipe de Castro. 15. Pero Marique (Albornoz, in Moisant, *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine*, p. 278). 16. Pero Lopez de Ayala (the historian). 17. Diego Lopez (Albornoz). 18. Garci Alvarez de Toledo. 19. —— de Rojas. Albornoz mentions a Lupus Diadaci de Rojas. 20 Beltran de Guevara. 21. Pero Ferrandez de Velasco. 22. Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza. 23. Reading has run two names together here; Juan Sanchez Manuel (Albornoz) and Sancho Sanchez de Moscoso. An intermediate name Petrus Sarmiento is dropped altogether.

Lupus de Cerne,[1] Alphonsus filius regis Henry, Honfigo magister de Fadrut,[2] Johannes Stener,[3] comes de Castinede,[4] Sencho de Thelare,[5] Sencho Lupus Ypartus,[6] clericus de Ballamus,[7] Ferandus de Sevuilla,[8] Clavarius de Galtrave,[9] Petrus de Mal-
f. 194 falleto, Cla | varius de Chant,[10] Johannes Romeseie,[11] Guydo de Remeris de Dramoscoveit,[12] Petrus Comes[13] cum filio suo, Rogus Carus de Seveis,[14] Magister de Sancto Regno,[15] Magister Hospitalis Hispanniae, dominus de Sarroges,[16] dominus Johannes de Remerik,[17] dominus Becko de Vylayn,[18] una cum aliis duobus millibus valentibus, quorum ducenti erant de Francia, et plures de Scotia.

Et ecce peractis istis gloriose[19], princeps ille illustris cum exercitu suo pernoctavit ibidem in tentoriis Bastardi, quoscunque pugnatum in campis expectans, et infra triduum absque resistentia processit cum inceptis.

Unde[20] Deo detur laus, perpes honor societur,
Quo lis deletur Hispanis[21], jusque tenetur.

1. Alvar Lopez de Cerna (Albornoz). 2. Homfigus, magister de Federik in the Canterbury chronicle (below, p. 226). 3. Johannes Stoner (*ibid.*). 4. Gomez Gonzalez de Castañeda. 5. Sancho Ferrandez de Tovar. 6. For Ypartus the Canterbury chronicler (below, p. 226) has Papatus. Widmore suggests Hippolytus. 7. The same in the Canterbury Chronicle. 8. Ferrandus Arias de Sibilia, *i.e.*, Seville (Albornoz). 9. El clavero (treasurer) de Calatrava (not in Spanish lists unless he was identical with the master of the order). 10. El Clavero de Alcántara. 11. ? Juan Remirez de Gusman (Albornoz). 12. La dya Mascant in the Canterbury Chronicle. 13. Pero Gomez (de Porry), Canterbury Chronicle. ? Gomez Perez de Porres (below p. 226). 14. Rogus Sarus de Sivers in the Canterbury Chronicle. 15. Mag. Sancti Jacobi (Canterbury Chronicle), *i.e.* Santiago. 16. The governor of Saragossa. 17. Or Remeris. Juan de Ramirez (?). 18. Le Bégue de Villaines. 19. gratiose, MS. 20. Vera in the fuller form of these verses printed in Political Poems and Songs (Rolls Series), I, 94—96. From this copy several corrections have been made in the text. 21. debetur Hispannia, MS.

Sit[1] benedictus herus[2], princeps orat[3] utpote clerus,
Mitis et austerus, qui scit judex fore verus.
Sic informavit rex illum quem[4] generavit,
Armis aptavit, et Christi lege ditavit.[5]
Ut radix Jesse rex Anglorum patet esse;
Sunt indefessae cui vires stante necesse.
Quinque quidem natos genuit rex morigeratos,
Viribus ornatos, mites, doctos, ope gratos,
Rex fore jocundus tantis natis quit abundus,
Nam totus mundus per eos sex[6] fit tremebundus.
Anglia laetatur, Vasconia jam modulatur;
Francia tristatur, Hispannia justificatur;
Scotia languescit, Hibernia tota quiescit.[7]
Quorum regina genitrix, Anglis medicina,
Extat digna Syna[8] requiescere cum Katerina.
Esse valet nata patre[9] matreque[10] laetificata,
|Taliter ornata tot fratribus et decorata. f. 194 b
Visitet ergo chorum[11] Deus, et conservet eorum,
Qui regit[12] Anglorum regnum sine fraude malorum

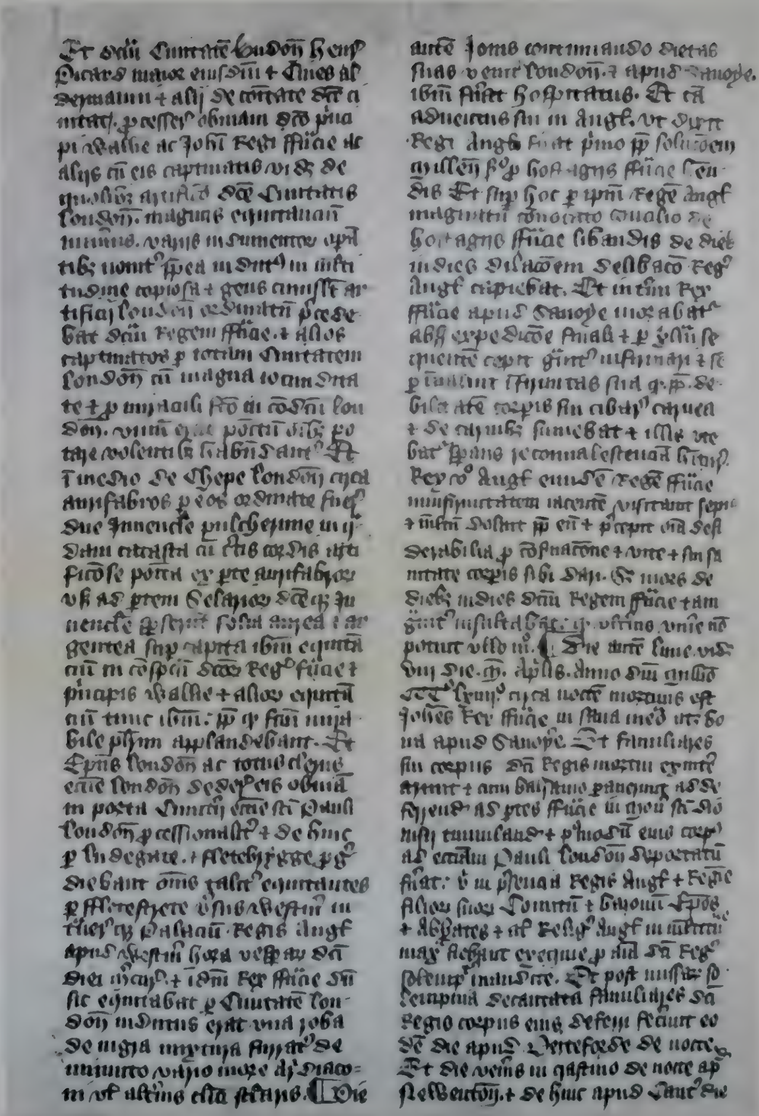
Praemissa dum agerentur, fraudulentus evasor dux Andegaviae, dominus Johannes, filius degener domini Johannis quondam regis Franciae, qui patrem in captivitate tristem reliquit, cujus maledictionem ea de causa in ultimis promeruit, Henricum Bastar-

1, set, MS. 2, erus, MS. 3. regat, MS. 4. qui, Pol. Poems. 5. dicavit, Pol. Poems. 6. rex, Pol. Poems. 7. Reading has made one line out of two in the original:

Scotia languescit et Flandria falsa timescit;
Dacia decrescit, Hibernia victa quiescit,

8. Sina or Syna, Pol. Poems. 9. Pater, MS,; in patre, Pol, Poems. 10. matre, MS, 11. thorum, Pol, Poems, 12. regat, MS.

dum praedictum a bello fugientem recepit. Cum quo, aliisque dolosis sibi interim associatis, Acquitanniam hostiliter ingressus, munitam villam cum castro, occisis resistentibus, cepit, et plura sinistra operatus est. Cui dominus princeps ejusdem, auditis hujusmodi rumoribus, literas direxit indignatione conceptas, regratians generositati suae quod, ipso in partibus extraneis circa quaedam ardua expedienda occupato, terras ac patrias suas taliter invadere ac visitare dignatus est, plena fide promittens eidem infra breve tempus condignam remunerationem. Moxque inspectis epistolis, dux ille nephandus cum praedicto Bastardo partes adivit Provinciales, relaturus domino papae non beneplacita. Et ipse quidem, tam publica promissione de Roma visitanda motus, quam de adventu ducis Lancastriae, cum exercitu suo ad certas civitates Provinciae juri suo ab olim pertinentes et a diu injuste detentas vendicandas, securus, praemissis cardinalibus ad ecclesiae sibique necessaria praeparanda, assumptis tamen secum quibusdam sanioribus una cum thesauris
f. 195 ecclesiae, | ad audienda et determinanda negotia in curia pendentia judices Avinione post se relinquens, in mense Maii versus Romam profectus est et Viterbiae ad paratum sibi palatium pervenit. Sed itinerando per terram ac per aquas multa perdidit, ut dicebatur.



Lambeth MS. 99., f. 54 b.

[CHRONICON ANONYMI CANTUARIENSIS.]

Anno Domini M°CCC°XLVI°, avertens rex Angliae multa verba Francorum pacifica in dolo, quadque jus[1] suum, quod in regno et ad regnum Franciae successione hereditaria optinet, recuperare non potuit nisi in gladio undique considerans, xvii die mensis Julii eodem anno, cum exercitu applicuit apud Hogges in Normannia. Et in dicto portu de Hogges praesens fuit marescallus Franciae Bertrandus, qui sub pœna capitis sui erga dictum Philippum, regem Franciae se dicentem, manuceperat, ut cum CC viris armatis dictum portum salvum custodiret, ne rex Angliae cum suo exercitu intraret terram Franciae quovismodo. Unde praefatus marescallus portum de Hogges et apud Barflete cum palis, sicut potuit, obturavit, et ad resistendum regi Angliae cum potentia et armata manu mille equitum ad minus et ultra sex millia peditum exercitum congregavit. Sed ab illo periculo ipsum regem Angliae Dei potentia liberavit, immittens terrorem suum, qui irruit super eos et omnes habitatores terrae, ita ut fugerent, nemine persequente, scilicet, communiter omnes de civitatibus ac villis magnis et parvis et patria in circuitu a viginti miliaribus, ubi transitus regis fuit, per totam Normanniam, Franciam et Pycardiam, praeterquam in locis paucis, de quibus in sequentibus apparebit.

f. 51 — Murim. p. 191 — Murim. p. 215

Primo, quidem, die Martis ante festum Sanctae

1. quod quevis, L.

Margaretae, videlicet xviii die mensis Julii, dominus Edwardus rex Angliae cum exercitu suo movebat se de Hogges juxta Barflete in Normannia, et cepit villam et castrum de Valoigns, et pontem de Ew,[1] qui fractus fuit per hostes, fecit celeriter reparari, et transiens ibidem cepit castrum de Carenten', et deinde progrediens versus villam de Sancto Ludovico[2] invenit pontem de Herberd[3] fractum, quem fecit concito reparari, et villam de Sancto Ludovico cepit. Et deinde inimici regis Angliae in Cadamo se ad resistendum fortiter paraverunt. Sed statim dicti regis potentia quasi tota potentia militiae[4] Normanniae extitit captivata, vel[5] gladio trucidata.
f. 51 b Ubi captus fuit constabularius Franciae[6] | comes de Ew, et camerarius de Tankervile, qui ante alium conflictum Franciae marescallus fuerat proclamatus. Ceteri autem capti et caesi sunt usque ad magnum numerum, et qui poterant fugam turpiter inierunt, ita quod in dicta civitate de Cadamo nullus
Murim. p. 215 remansit; et dicta villa fuit usque ad nudos parietes spoliata. Deinde in progressu regis Angliae paludes plurimae, aquae profundissimae, nemora densissima et viae strictissimae multiplicaverunt pericula gravia et immensa. In quibus locis centum armati contra centum millia hominum passum et transitum custodissent, judicio multorum militum tunc captorum. Sed ab his periculis ipsum regem et exercitum suum Dei gratia liberavit, terrens hostes fugam celerem unanimiter capientes. De Cadamo vero, postquam sic[7]

1. Pont d'Ouve. 2. Saint Lô. 3. Pont-Hébert 4. Militia, L. 5. ut, L. 6. comes Franciae, L. 7. si. L.

capta fuerat, idem rex versus Rothomagum iter suum dirigens, occurrerunt sibi dominus Ambaldus de Getano et Stephanus Alberti, sanctae Romanae ecclesiae cardinales, in civitate Lexoviensi, ipsum regem ad pacem plurimum exhortantes. Quibus per regem curialiter receptis, responsum fuit eis quod rex Angliae, semper pacem desiderans, quaesivit eam omnibus viis rationalibus quibus scivit et potuit, et pro ea habenda optulit vias multas, licet in sui juris magnum praejudicium, quodque adhuc paratus erat pacem admittere, dummodo via sibi rationabile offeratur. Dicti autem cardinales, habita responsione hujusmodi, ad dominum Philippum de Valesio redeuntes, et ipsum de hiis apud Rothomagum praesentialiter allocuti, ad regem Angliae redierunt sibique [1] ducatum Aquitaniae, sicut illum pater suus tenuit, optulerunt, et spem dederunt plurima habendi, si tractatus pacificus haberetur. Sed quia ista via eidem regi non placuit, nec ipsum Philippum dicti cardinales tractabilem invenerunt, desperati de bono fine simpliciter recesserunt.

Rex autem Angliae, deinde progrediens continue, villas omnes [2] grossas per quas intravit et transivit obtinuit, nemine resistente. Deus enin inimicos regis ita terruit, ut viderentur corda sua totaliter perdidisse. Castra insuper et munitiones, paucis invadentibus, licet fortissima essent, pulsu levissimo ipse cepit.

Philippus vero de Valesio, inimicus regis Angliae et adversarius, existens in civitate Rothomagensi, magnum exercitum congregavit ibidem, et licet essent in multitudine gravi, idem Philippus [3] pontem Secanae frangi fecit. Ipse Philippus regem Angliae ex adverso ex una parte Secanae diebus singulis sequebatur, diruens omnes pontes et muniens, ne ad eum pateret transitus quovismodo. Et licet continue ibidem spolia fierent et incendia ad latitudinem xx miliarium in circuitu et ad unum

1 The reading of the MS is doubtful. Wharton read sibique.
2. Omnes repeated in L.
3. After Philippus there is an unintelligible word in the MS. (not in Murimuth) which may be a bad transcription of maturans.

miliare juxta dictum [1] adversarium, ipse tamen adversarius noluit nec audebat in defensione populi sui, cum potuisset, aquam transire.

Deinde idem rex Angliae venit apud Pussiacum,[2] ubi pontem fractum invenit. Et dictus adversarius prae timore fugiendo citra Parisius non quievit, sed ordinavit mille equites et duo millia peditum cum balistis ad custodiam dicti pontis de Pussiaco, ut reparari non posset; et omnes pontes in circuitu Parisius, per
Murim. p. 216 quos posset esse transitus, vecorditer frangi fecit. Sed protensis
tribus vel quatuor trabibus ultra dictum pontem de Pussiaco fractum, aliqui ex Anglia sagittarii transierunt, licet pauci, et de parte Franciae secundum aestimationem hominum interfecti fuerunt mille vel circiter, et ceteri versi sunt in fugam omnes. Dominus autem rex Angliae, reparato dicto ponte de Pussiaco, fecit per Picardiam transitum suum et semper a latere adversarium sequebatur,[3] et fractis pontibus undequaque per regem Franciae, via aliqua regi Angliae [nisi] [4] inter Croteye et Abeville non patuit quovismodo. In refluxu[5] vero maris.
f. 52 ibidem | totus exercitus Angliae transivit illaesus, licet in
loco illo a populo illius terrae nesciretur esse tutum vadum, nisi [6] strictissimum ubi VI vel X potuissent transire simul. Tamen gens regis Angliae indifferenter quasi in omni loco, sicut in vado latissimo, transierunt; quod mirabile est in oculis omnium qui noverant locum illum.

Philippus vero de Valesio ordinavit mille[7] equites et quinque millia peditum vel circiter[8] pro custodia illius passagii ad resistendum fortiter regi Angliae, sed per comitem Northamtoniae et Reginaldum de Cobham, cum C. armatis et aliquibus sagittariis procedentes[9] exercitum, hostes viriliter sunt repulsi, et interfectis eodem die de parte Franciae [duobus millibus vel ultra, ceteri fugerunt usque ad Abbatis villam, ubi dictus

1. dictam, L. 2. Poissy. 3. et adversarii in latere sequebantur, Murim. 4. Supplied from Murimuth. 5. reflexu, L. 6. ubi, L. 7. circiter M, Murim. 8. ultra, Murim. 9. praecedentes, Murim.

adversarius][1] cum exercitu suo fuit. De illo autem loco, die Sabbati, xxvi die mensis Augusti, anno Domini MCCCXLVI, processit idem rex Angliae versus Cressi, ubi suo occurrit[2] adversario Philippo de Valesio in campo magno. Qui quidam adversarius habuit exercitum magnum valde, videlicet secundum aestimationem hominum xii millia galeatorum et aliorum armatorum ad minus lx millia hominum. Ipse vero adversarius, intendens specialiter personam regis Angliae invadere, posuit se in prima acie exercitus sui Francorum; cui dominus Edwardus, princeps Walliae, qui primam aciem exercitus Anglorum habuit, viriliter se objecit. Et, habito adinvicem conflictu fortissimo et diutino, bis idem adversarius est repulsus. Et tertio, congregatis viribus et exercitu suo, fortiter pugnaverunt cum exercitu regis Angliae. Tandemque, cooperante manu Dei, in illo conflictu ceciderunt in gladio apud Cressi dominus rex Boemiae, archiepiscopus Senonensis[3] et episcopus Noviomensis[4] ac dux Lorengiae, comites[5] Dallason[6] et frater ejus[7] Philippi de Valesio; et multi alii nobiles et magnates regni Franciae dicto die Sabbati interfecti sunt. Sed ipse Philippus de Valesio cum aliis multis nobilibus tunc fugerunt, multis de exercitu dicti regis Angliae insequentibus per totam noctem taliter fugientes. Et, antequam dicti exercitus Franciae et Angliae sic more guerrino adinvicem dimicassent, visae sunt aves nigerrimae[8] in aere volantes super exercitum Francorum, quasi captantes

1. Supplied from Murimuth, p. 216.
2. occurrens, MS., corrected from Murimuth. 3. Senoniensis, L.
4. The reading of the MS. is Noviēn or Nomēn. The bishop of Noyon (*Noviomensis*) was reported to have been killed—though only taken prisoner (Baker, p. 85).
5. Retained from a fuller list in which several counts were mentioned.
6. Dalancon', J. *i.e.* Charles de Valois, count of Alençon.
7. *Rectius,* comes Dallason frater Philippi de Valesio.
8. Nigerini in MS.

eorum cadavera et praenosticantes mortem Francorum, sicque illo die Sabbati idem rex Angliae de hostibus, assistente sic manu Dei, in campo de Cressy reportavit triumphum.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XLVI°, dicto bello de Cressi sic peracto, idem rex Angliae cum exercitu suo per terram et mare obsidebat castrum et villam de Caleys supra mare; et duravit obsidio hujusmodi a die Sancti Rufi usque ad annum completum; sicque tandem dicta villa de Caleys, una cum castro, domino regi Angliae reddita fuerat manu forti.

Cf. Murim. p. 218.

Dum autem idem rex Angliae fuerat in obsidione villae de Caleys, de consilio Francorum, quibus Scoti alligati existunt in odium regis Angliae, David le Bruys rex Scotiae et comites ac magnates regni Scotiae terram Angliae latenter ingressi cum magna multitudine armatorum, credentes in regno Angliae, propter absentiam regis et magnatum Angliae apud Caleys existentium, aliquam resistentiam non habere, depredationes, homicidia et incendia ac multa mala fecerunt. Quibus dominus Willelmus Zouche[1] archiepiscopus Eboracensis, clerus et populus illarum partium, dictis Scotis in manu fortissima occurrentes, quodam die Martis, videlicet xvii die mensis Octobris, anno Domini M°CCC°XLVI°, tempore Clementis papae VI[ti] anno quinto, prope civitatem Dunelmensem adinvicem fortiter pugnaverunt. In quo quidem conflictu David rex Scotiae, comes de

1. la Zouche, J.

Meneth, comes de Fyf, et multi alii nobiles regni Scotiae capti fuerunt. Ceteri, videlicet comes de Patrik,[1] comes | de Morif, comes de Ros, senes- f. 52 b callus Scotiae, aliique nobiles et populares regni Scotiae ibidem tunc interfecti fuerunt. Idem rex Angliae post redditionem villae de Caleys, capta treuga cum Francis de eorum rogatu, rediit in Angliam, cum gloria et honore.

Anno Domini M°CCC°XLVIII°, mortuo J. archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, cito post incepit pestilentia et mortalitas hominum per totam Angliam, et talis quod vix quinta pars viventium hominum remanebat in vita, et tanta caritas[2] presbyterorum et aliorum servientium erat quod multae ecclesiae inofficiatae remanebant, et viventes in carne servientibus et laborariis ex toto carebant, adeo quod terrae incultae pro parte maxima remanserunt ubique.

Postmodum, vero, per unum valectum, Johannem de Doncastre Anglicum apud Gynes per Gallicos incarceratum, captum fuit castrum de Gynes de nocte subtiliter, per astutiam et prudentiam ipsius Johannis, in manum domini regis Angliae, dormientibus ipsius castri de Gynes custodibus, captisque per eundem Johannem Doncastre spoliis, et[ali]quibus interfectis ibidem, et [ali] quibus majoribus captis et in carcere detentis, donec cum concilio regis Angliae, quid de taliter captis ageretur, deliberaretur ad plenum. De

1. comes Patrik, Murim.
2. Altered in MS. into scarcitas by a later hand. J. has raritas.

P. T.

quo quidem facto idem Johannes Doncastre magnam reportavit laudem, tam a rege Angliae quam a magnatibus regni sui.

Item a tempore redditionis villae de Caleys semper de anno in annum habitis diversis tractatibus pacis inter Anglicos et Gallicos omnes, tam in villa quam ad calcetum ejusdem, et continuatis treugis sub spe pacis, [nichil][1] effectuale quo ad pacem aliquam erat factum.

Anno Domini M°CCC° quinquagesimo, anno videlicet Jubilaeo apud Romanam urbem, totus populus confluebat undique pro plena remissione peccaminum consequenda, et ad visitandum limina beatorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli Romae, et aliis peregrinationibus inibi faciendis.

Anno Domini M°CCC°LI°,[2] mortuus est Philippus de Valesio, rex Franciae, et apud [civitatem] Remensem ejus filius, Johannes de Francia, coronatus est in regem Franciae de facto, non obstante vendicatione regni Franciae per regem Angliae haereditario jure facta. Post haec dominus Galfridus Charny, tunc senescallus Franciae, habuit privatum tractatum et dolosum cum domino Emerico Pavye et fratre suo Januensibus, magistris galearum regis Angliae, super venditione[3] dicti castri, de conniventia[4] regis Angliae. Et tandem, quodam die Lunae, prima

1. Supplied from J. 2. *Rectius,* M°CCC°L°. 3. vendicatione, L. 4. convenientia, L.

hebdomada mensis Januarii, venit idem dominus Galfridus Charny ante portam villae de Caleys cum exercitu suo pro captione dictae villae, sed ipse Galfridus [per] regem Angliae et principem ac comites de Warewik et Suffolkia et exercitum suum captus fuit et Londoniis incarceratus, et tandem pro magna pecuniae summa redemptus.

Anno Domini M°CCCLIII°[1] ad tractandum super reformatione pacis inter Franciae et Angliae reges missi fuerunt ad Romanam curiam dux Lancastriae, comes Arundelliae, dominus Willelmus episcopus Norwicensis, dominus Michael de Norburgh et alii ex parte regis Angliae. Habitis multis tractatibus cum ambassiatoribus Franciae sine expeditione pacis, ad Angliam diverterunt.

Et die Epiphaniae Domini eodem anno mortuus est dominus Willelmus Norwicensis episcopus in curia et sepultus.

Anno Domini M°CCC°LV°,[2] Edwardus rex Angliae, pro recuperatione juris sui in regno Franciae pro successione hereditaria matris suae, domini Philippi Pulchri, quondam regis Franciae, filiae et heredis, destinavit Edwardum filium suum primogenitum, tunc principem Walliae, aetatis xxv annorum et amplius, tanquam capitaneus in Vasconiam, una | cum comitibus de Warewik et Sarisburia, domino f. 53

1. *Rectius*, M°CCC°LIIII°. 2. M°CCC°XLV°, L.

Richinaldo[1] Cobham, domino Stephano de Cosyngton,[2] militibus, et aliis[3] regni Angliae, cum navigio et exercitu magno valde, ad debellandum contra dominum Johannem se regem Franciae dicentem. Et applicuit idem princeps Walliae apud Burdegalen' et ibidem mansit per totum annum sequentem; et habuit cum delphino de Vienna, dicti regis Franciae filio, diversos conflictus in Vasconia et alibi primo anno adventus sui ad partes illas. Cui Deus de inimicis suis in multis locis dedit victoriam et triumphum, licet aliqui de suo exercitu perierunt.

Anno Domini M°CCC°LVI°,[4] die Lunae, videlicet xix die mensis Septembris, anno aetatis dicti principis xxvi^{o}, inter eundem principem et dominum Johannem dicentem se regem Franciae in campo extra Peytyers[5] magnus belli conflictus diutissime habebatur. In quo quidem bello idem princeps habuit in acie sua M^{1}M^{1}M^{1} homines armorum[6] et mille sagittarios et mille servientes duntaxat. Rex vero Franciae habuit quatuor bella. In acie sua prima fuerunt iiij^{xx} vexilla et pyncelli. Et in acie delphini de Vyenna, filii dicti regis Franciae, ibi fuerunt C et iiij^{xx} vexilla et pincelli. Et in acie iiij^{a} dicti regis Francorum cum duobus marchionibus fuerunt iiii^{xx} et vii[7] vexilla et pincelli. Et in acie iii^{a} domini ducis

1. Reginaldo, J. 2. Cotyngton, J. 3. alii, L. 4. M°CCC°XLVI°, L. 5. Peyters, J. 6. armatorum MS.

7. In J. this vii is added to the 180 banners and pennons of the dauphin's battle and the third and fourth battles are given in their natural order.

Burboniae fuerunt lv vexilla et pincelli. In quo quidem bello de Peytyers post multam stragem hominum terga verterunt multi magnates de Francia et fugerunt, videlicet delphinus de Vyenna,[1] et dominus Willelmus Duglas cum aliis multis Scotis. Et solius Dei assistente potentia, idem princeps in dicto bello reportavit [victoriam].[2] Et praeter multos qui de exercitu dicti regis Franciae occisi erant ibidem, capti fuerunt, videlicet:

Capti in bello de Peyters.

Dominus Johannes, rex Franciae.
Philippus, filius ejus junior.
Jacobus de Burbon, comes Pontivi.
Comes de Ew.
Comes de Abbevile,[3] filius domini Roberti Dartoys.
Comes de Tankerville.
Comes de Ventedour.
Comes de Salesbrigg'.[4]
Comes de Ventdoyne.[5]
Comes de Russell'.[6]
Comes de Vaudemount.
Comes Damartyn.
Comes de Nesshowe.[7]
Archiepiscopus Senonensis.[8]
Castellanus Denpost,[9] familiaris papae et bene dilectus ab eo.

1. Vynna, L. 2. Supplied from J. 3. Longueville. 4. Saarbrücken. 5. Vendôme. 6 Roucy. 7. Nassau. 8. of Sens. 9. Châtelain d'Amposta.

Occisi in eodem bello.[1]

Vicecomes Narbon'.

Vicecomes de Beaumond.

Marescallus Daudenham.

Filius comitis Dansur'[2]

Frater comitis de Vendome.

Dominus de Rochefoliaud.[3]

Dominus de Mountagu.

Dominus de Sint Tyger.[4]

Dominus Damboyse.[5]

Senescallus de Seyntoge.[6]

Dominus Gychardus Dars.[7]

Dominus Mauritius de Mavynet, Capitaneus de Peytyers.[8]

Dominus de la Tour.

Dominus de Berval.[9]

Germanus domini de Craoun.[10]

Dominus Alanus de[11] Montandr'.[12]

Dominus Villae Hernald.

Dominus de Maugeler.

Dominus Johannes de Blanco.[13]

Dominus Daubeney.

Dominus de Sully.

Et praeter praescriptos captivati fuerunt M[1]M[1] armatorum, milites et alii.

1. This heading is intrusive. There is no break here in the list of prisoners. 2. d'Auxerre. 3. Rochefolcaud, J. 4. Saint-Dizier. 5. D'Amboise. 6. Saintonge. 7. Guichard d'Ars. 8. Mons. Moris Maynet, captayne de Poyters in Burghersh's letter (Chandos Herald, ed. Michel, p. 337). In the MS. capitaneus de Peytyers (Peyters, J.) is inserted on a separate line as if a different person. 9. Deval, J., *i.e.* Derval. 10. *i.e.* brother of the sire de Craon. Burghersh has 'le seignour de Crew et son frere.' 11. de repeated in MS. L. 12. Aleyn de Moundtendre, Avesbury; Arnald de Mounteuerye, Burghersh. 13. Plaunke, Baker, ? Plancy.

Mortui in eodem bello.

Dominus de Borbon'.[1]
Dominus Robertus[2] Duras.
Dux Attenensis, constabularius Franciae.
| Episcopus de Chalons. f. 53 b
Marescallus de Clermount.
Vicecomes Dauncy.[3]
Vicecomes de Brusso.[4]
Vicecomes de Rocheward.
Dominus R. de Pouns.
Dominus Galfridus Charney.[5]
Dominus Galfridus Mathas.[5]
Dominus de Landas.
Dominus Eustachius de Ryplemount.
Dominus Andreas Chany.
Dominus Johannes de Lidle.[6]
Dominus Guillelmus de Noyre.[7]
Dominus Robertus Haungest.[8]
Dominus de Castro Vileyn.
Dominus de Mont Johan.[9]
Dominus de Argentin.
Dominus de Sansur'.[10]
Dominus Lodovicus de Druse.[11]
Filius domini de Mountagu.

Et praeter praedictos dominos occisos MDCCC[12]

1. Borboun, J. 2. Rogerus, J., but the list in Avesbury reads Robert. 3. Not in other lists. Avesbury has Mounsire Gichard de Beauge after the next name. 4. Brusse, Avesb. 5. For a suggestion that the lists have divided 'Geoffrey Charny, sire de Mathas' into two persons, see Baker, pp. 103, 276. 6. Lysle, Avesb. 7. Neel, Baker. 8. Aungest, J.; Angest, Avesb. 9. *i.e.* Montjouan. 10. *i.e.* Sancerre. 11. *i.e.* Brosse. 12. The "M" is in a later hand. There is still an omission of a thousand men. Burghersh wrote: 'furent mortz ii mille et viii cents persones, desqueux furent ii mille hommes d'armes' (Chandos Herald, ed. Michel, p. 338).

homines et personae, de quibus fuerunt mille homines armorum, milites et valetti.

Item, die Sabbati ante dictum bellum de Peytiers fuerunt capti comes de Juny,[1] comes de Ausoir',[2] marescallus de Burgoine;[3] et cum ipsis captivatis[4] fuerunt occisi ccxl homines armorum.

Item, xv^{a} [die][5] ante dictum bellum capti fuerunt in castro de Romeynt[6] dominus de Croune, dominus Brussyngaudus miles; et cum ipsis captivatis in dicto castro occisi fuerunt iiii^{xx} homines armorum.

Postquam vero dictum bellum de Peitiers tam graciose[7] fuerat peractum, idem Edwardus princeps Walliae cum exercitu suo duxit secum dictum dominum Johannem dicentem se regem Franciae et dominum Philippum filium suum juniorem, una cum ceteris captivatis regni Franciae, apud [civitatem] Burdegalensem in Vasconia, et sub secura custodia posuit eos ibidem quodam fortalicio,[8] et erga eos idem princeps humaniter habebat. Et dum idem rex sic erat ibidem in custodia detentus, dominus papa Innocentius VI scripsit eidem domino principi sub hac forma:

Bulla Papae missa Principi Walliae.

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio, nobili viro, Edwardo primogenito karissimi in Christo filii [nostri,] Edwardi, regis Angliae illustris, principi Walliae salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Quanquam, fili, ex tuorum

1. Joigny. Cf. Avesbury, p. 471. 2. Auxerre. 3. Burgoyne, J. 4. Captivis, J. 5. Supplied from Avesb., p. 471. 6. Romorantin. 7. ? gloriose. 8. in quodam fortalicio, J.

felicitate successuum cum mundo sentiens, ut probabiliter [credimus] glorieris, tenemus tamen indubie quod, sicut Deo es devotus et ex devotis [ei] parentibus es editus, triumphorum gloriam et victoriarum[1] honorem ad Deum[2] creatorem tuum, a quo est omnis victoria omnisque triumphus, cum reverentia multa[3] refers; tenemus quod in eis effusionem cruoris humani consideras; tenemus quod animarum pericula intueris; et [quod] proinde in conspectu ipsius Dei tui eo te humilias amplius, quo, sicut circumspectus et prudens, plane perpendis,[4] debere te illi pro hiis referre gratiam, pro hiis ab eo veniam deprecari. Licet enim idem ipse Deus, prout vult distribuens bona sua, te victoriarum titulis et triumphorum pompa fecerit gloriosum, detestatur tamen[5] plebis suae stragem nec regnantium rancorem[6] aut odium, jus vel injuriam compensari vult excidio fidelium et innocentium populorum. Quod nos, attenta meditatione pensantes, non revocamus in dubium, immo verisimiliter illud scimus,[7] quod tu[8] quanto de manu Domini prosperiora te suscepisse cognoscis, tanto quo[9] ad pacem sis promptior, tanto ad concordiam favorabiliter inclineris, maxime[10] cum ea sit consuetudo potentium imitantium[11] pietatem, ut plus eos ad clementiam quotidie prosperitas excitet, plus ad mansuetudinem felicitas indesinenter inducat. Nunquam enim[12] pietas in aliquo, nisi cum

1. victoriam honorem, L. Corrected from Raynaldi, *Ann. Eccl.* (1691), iv, 380, from whose copy the words in brackets throughout are supplied. 2. dominum, L. 3. Om. Rayn. 4. perpendas, L. 5. testatur tum, L., corrected from Raynaldi. 6. rancorum, L. 7. illud scimus] certi sumus, Rayn. 8. cum L., corrected from Rayn. 9. Om. Rayn. 10. maxima, L. 11. mittantium, L. 12. cum, L.

possit, saevire perpenditur, nunquam dulcedo mansuetudinis, nisi cum possit, rigide [agere] innotescit.[1]
f. 54 Dat igitur potentia occasionem clementiae, | dat et [causam] pietati[s].[2] Hanc igitur occasionem, hanc causam a te, cum exhibere possis, exigimus, et pro pace inter karissimum in Christo filium nostrum, Johannem, regem Franciae illustrem, quem ad carcerem tuum bellicus eventus adduxit et te, actore[3] Domino, reformanda,[4] nobilitatem tuam confidenter adimus, illam quanta possimus affectione rogantes, et per viscera misericordiae Dei obsecrantes attentius, quatinus [reddens][5] gratitudinis vicem Domino Deo tuo pro his quae tribuit ipse tibi, ad pacem et concordiam te[6] habilites animum, cor praepares, disponas et mentem. Nosti enim, quod ille rex pacificus per quem vivis et regnas pacem diligere praecepit[7] et immisericordium[8] cordium incolatum refugit.[9] Et ne longis sermonibus diffusius extendamus epistolam, precibus nostris adjicimus,[10] ut quae venerabilis frater noster Taylerandus, episcopus Albanensis, et dilectus filius noster Nicholaus, tituli Sancti Vitalis presbyter cardinalis, apostolicae sedis nuntii, vel alter eorum, tibi ex parte nostra per[11] se vel per alios retulerint aut literis nostris indicaverint, credas indubie illaque speratis[12] operum fructibus pia velis prosecutione complere. Data Avinione, v° nonas Octobris, pontificatus nostri anno quarto.

1. inotessit, L. 2. dat et causam pietatis, Rayn. 3. auctore, L. 4. reformando, L. 5. Supplied from Raynaldi. 6. Om. *id.* 7. te deligere praecipit, Raynaldi. 8. ut concordium, L., corrected from Raynaldi. 9. resurgit, L., corrected from Rayn. 10. adimus, L., corrected from Raynaldi. 11. pro, L. 12. paratis, L., corrected from Raynaldi.

Alia Bulla exhortatoria.

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, dilecto filio, nobili viro, Edwardo primogenito karissimi in Christo filii Edwardi regis Angliae illustris, principi Walliae, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Venerabilis frater noster Tayllerandus, episcopus Albanensis, apostolicae sedis nuntius per suas literas scripsit nobis quod tu, nobilitatem, quam derivas ex[1] genere, confirmans et amplians ex generositate animi ac operatione virtutum, tantis eum es prosecutus honoribus, tantis et favoribus, quantos[2] filium in Christo patri decuit exhibere, animum tuum aequaliter[3] ad omnia praeparans, nulla es successuum prosperitate elatus,[4] sed in conspectu Domini Dei tui semper humilior ei omnia deputans a quo omnia suscepisti, karissimo in Christo filio nostro Johanni, regi Francorum illustri, quem ad carcerem tuum bellicus eventus adduxit, honorificentiam quae tanto principi convenit benignus jam[5] impendis. Super quo nobilitatem tuam meritis[6] laudibus prosequentes, speramus indubie quod omnipotens Dominus, qui humilia respicit et alta a[7] longe cognoscit, in te proinde[8] uberius et copiosius gratiam suae benedictionis infundet;[9] nobilitatem tuam attente rogamus, tibi protinus affectibus suadentes, quatinus hiis, fili, semper [te] immitteris[10] operibus, hiis actibus impli-

1. ex, om. Raynaldi. 2. quantis, L., corrected from Raynaldi. 3. curialiter, L., corrected from Raynaldi. 4. erectus, Raynaldi. 5. jam, om., Raynaldi. 6. intentis, L., corrected from Raynaldi. 7. de, Raynaldi. 8. Om., Raynaldi. 9. infundit, L., effundet, Raynaldi. Raynaldi's copy goes no further, but he adds the date. 10. miteris, L.

ceris, verba pacis libenter audias, audita favorabiliter prosequaris. Pax enim bonarum artium decora mater, bonorum nutrix est studiorum et cuncta[1] parens fecunda virtutum. Data Avinione, ii° nonas Octobris, pontificatus nostri anno iv.

Quibus quidem literis apostolicis per dictum principem Walliae intellectis, ipse eas misit ad Angliam patri suo, et a tempore captionis dicti regis Franciae continue morabatur apud Burdegalen' cum dicto rege Franciae. Erga eum valde curialiter et humaniter se habebat.

Anno Domini M°CCC°LVII°, mense Maii per dictum principem Walliae latenter magno navigio et navali exercitu idem rex Franciae cum aliis captivatis ductus fuit per mare versus Angliam. Et die Mercurii in festo Inventionis Sanctae Crucis applicuerunt omnes naves, cum dicto rege Franciae et aliis captivatis, in portu de Ploumouth in Devonia circa horam tertiam dicti diei, et ab illo loco per continuas dietas idem princeps Walliae conduxit dictum regem Franciae per civitates et loca populosa regni Angliae versus Londonias. Et intravit civitatem Londoniarum, cum dicto rege Franciae, Philippo filio suo juniore et aliis captivatis regni Franciae usque ad numerum xiii personarum magnatum, die Mercurii, f. 54 b videlicet xxiiii die dicti mensis Maii | Et [extra][2] dictam civitatem Londoniarum Henricus Picard major ejusdem et cives, aldermanni, et alii de

1. ? for cunctarum. 2. Supplied from J.

communitate dictae civitatis processerunt[1] obviam dicto principi Walliae ac Johanni regi Franciae ac aliis cum eis captivatis, videlicet de quolibet artificio dictae civitatis Londoniarum magnus equitantium numerus, variis indumentorum apparatibus[2] noviter propterea indutus, in multitudine copiosa. Et gens cujuslibet artificii Londoniensis ordinata[3] praecedebat dictum regem Franciae et alios captivatos per totam civitatem Londoniarum, cum magna jocunditate; et pro mirabili[4] facto in conductu Londoniensi vinum erat positum omnibus potare volentibus abundanter.

Et in medio de Chepe, Londoniis, circa aurifabros per eos ordinatae fuerunt duae juvenculae pulcherrimae in quadam catasta cum certis[5] cordis artificiose posita ex parte aurifabrorum usque ad partem selariorum, dictaeque juvenculae sparserunt folia aurea et argentea super capita ibidem equitantium in conspectu dictorum regis Franciae et principis Walliae et aliorum equitantium tunc ibidem. Propter quod factum mirabile plurimi applaudebant. Et episcopus Londoniensis ac totus clerus ecclesiae Londoniensis dederunt eis obviam in porta cimiterii ecclesiae Sancti Pauli Londoniensis processionaliter; et dehinc per Ludegate et Fletebrygge progrediebant omnes taliter equitantes per Flete strete versus Westmonasterium, intraveruntque palatium regis Angliae apud Westmonasterium hora vesperarum

1. proceres, J. 2. operantibus, L.; apparitibus, J. 3. ordinatum, L.
4. miraculi, L; corrected from J. 5. serii, J.

dicti diei Mercurii. Et idem rex Franciae, dum sic equitabat per civitatem Londoniarum, indutus erat una roba de nigra mixtura furrata de minuto[1] vario, more archidiaconi vel alterius clerici saecularis.

Cotton MS. Jul. B. iii., f. 111 b

[[2] Post haec vero idem rex Franciae hospitatus fuit apud Savoye, Londoniis, in hospitio domini Henrici ducis Lancastriae, ipso duce tunc in Brittania circa obsidionem[3] villae de Reyns in Britannia existente. Postmodum, in vigilia Sancti Johannis Baptistae circa solis occasum apud Dovorram applicuit dominus Petrus nuper archiepiscopus Rotomagensis, cancellarius Franciae et principalis conciliarius dicti regis Franciae, cardinalis. Et cum eo venerunt ad Angliam domini archiepiscopus Senonensis, comes de Tankervile, germanus ejus, et comes de Vendoyne,[4] regni Franciae captivati. Et volebat idem cardinalis latenter cum dicto rege Franciae habuisse tractatum. Transivit per aquam versus Savoye, dimittens familiam suam per civitatem Londoniarum transire. Sed in adventu suo ibidem non habuit liberum colloquium, ut volebat, cum rege Franciae.

Die autem Mercurii, in vigilia apostolorum Petri et Pauli,[5] dominus Taylerandus, episcopus Albanensis, intravit civitatem Cantuariae, et fuit hospitatus in abbathia Sancti Augustini Cantuariae. Et die Jovis,

1. miniuto, L. Minutus varius=miniver.

2. Several pages of the text for the years 1357—1364, which were accidentally omitted in the transcription of L., or of some MS. on which it is based, are supplied from J.

3. obsidione, MS. 4. Vendôme. 5. 28 June.

in festo apostolorum Petri et Pauli, versus Londonias arripuit iter suum. Die vero Sabbati, prima die Julii, dominus Nicholaus episcopus, Sancti Vitalis presbyter cardinalis, venit de Dovorra Cantuariam, et illo eodem [die] recessit versus Londonias festinanter. Et ambo cardinales praedicti iii die mensis Julii intraverunt civitatem Londoniarum. Quibus dominus princeps Walliae, cum magna multitudine civium Londoniarum, et dominus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus et alii domini solempniter obviam dederunt. Sed dicti cardinales nolebant permittere dominum Cantuariensem archiepiscopum crucem suum in eorum praesentia bajulare. Dictique cardinales | f. 112
cum honore civitatem Londoniarum intraverunt. Et dictus dominus Petragoricensis in mansione [1] Lincolniensis episcopi, et idem dominus Nicholaus cardinalis in mansione[1] Cicestrensis[2] episcopi hospitati fuerunt. Deinde, exposita per eos causa adventus eorum ad Angliam domino regi Angliae, ipse eos benigne audivit et deliberavit super responsione eos danda. Et habitis multis tractatibus pacis et multis et variis hinc inde petitis, nichil efficaciter erat factum. Postmodum, die Martis proximo ante festum Sancti Laurentii,[3] dicti duo cardinales, videlicet Petragoricensis et Urgelensis comedere cum rege Angliae apud Westmonasterium, et ipse fecit eis magnum convivium tunc ibidem.

1. mansio, MS.
2. Cic. in MS. struck through and 'Sicut' interlined above it in a somewhat fainter ink.
3. *i.e.* 8 August.

Post haec, die Martis in [diebus] Rogationum, videlicet octavo die mensis Maii, anno Domini M°CCC°LVIII° apud Wyndesore, praesentibus tunc ibidem domino episcopo Wyntoniensi tunc Angliae cancellario, domino Edwardo principe Walliae ac comitibus Arundelliae et Warrewyk et aliis de privato concilio regis Angliae, inter dictos dominos Francorum et Anglorum reges tractatu pacis habito, tandem dicti reges osculati fuerunt adinvicem sub certa forma pacis hinc inde, ut sequitur, optinendae: videlicet, quod idem rex Angliae totam Vasconiam et Aquitaniam et etiam Agenensem, necnon villam de Rochelle, sine homagio, tributo vel servicio alicui faciendis, pro se et heredibus suis imperpetuum, haberet et teneret, ac etiam villam de Caleys, [villam] de Gynes et quaedam loca alia per ipsum equitata, quodque pax hujusmodi per dominum papam, magnates, proceres [que] utriusque regni Franciae[1] ad observandum praemissa et praeter haec sua redemptione octo milliones florenorum scutorum regni Angliae solveret, et sic terram Franciae in pace teneret. Cui quidem tractatu pacis Francigenae noluerant consentire, prorogando de diebus in dies, una cum cardinalibus tunc Londoniis existentibus, stabilimentum pacis hujusmodi ordinatae quarto die Junii.

Anno Domini M°CCC°LX°, dominus Johannes, rex Francorum, postquam in Anglia a festo Inven-

1. Some words seem to have been omitted by the transcriber here.

tionis Sanctae Crucis captivatus per triennium remanserat, transitu suo versus Caleys una cum principe Walliae Cantuariam venit, et ibidem ad feretrum Sancti Thomae unum jocale pulcherrimum ad CC marcas et amplius appreciatum, et deinde ad imaginem beatae Mariae in Cryptis unum nowche[1] aureum, pro oblatione dimisit, lapidibus pretiosis ornatum. Et [per] totum illum diem idem rex in prioratu Cantuariae morabatur.

Et die Dominica[2] in crastino valde mane, ipse rex una cum domino principe Walliae de Cantuaria recedens in eundo versus Dovorram transivit per parcum de Cruddeswode, quod est archiepiscopo Cantuariensi, et habuit ibi pulcrum deductum ferarum bestiarum. Et fuit illa nocte in Domo Dei Dovorrae. Et die Lunae in crastino, idem princeps Walliae fecit eidem regi Franciae in castro Dovorrae tam de carnibus quam de piscibus magnum convivium. Et die Martis sequente, in festo Sancti Thomae Martyris, post horam nonam dicti diei, idem Johannes, rex Franciae, apud Dovorram mare ingrediens, hora vesperarum dicti diei applicuit apud Caleys, ibidem concilium expectando,[3] et interim cum concilio suo Franciae super articulis pacis deliberatae tractando. Postmodum, in crastino Sancti Laurentii, anno eodem, dominus princeps Walliae, | dominus Henricus f. 112 b

1. A clasped necklace, bracelet or the like; also a buckle or brooch worn as an ornament and set with precious stones—N.E.D. *s.v.* Ouch.
2. Dominico, MS.
3. The scribe at first wrote Concilium exdeliberatae tractando, his eye having passed on to the next line. Realising his mistake, he erased deliberatae tractando and added pectando.

dux Lancastriae, una cum domino Willelmo, episcopo Wyntoniensi, cancellario Angliae, proceribus et magnatibus ac clericis in jure peritis regni Angliae, apud Dovorram accedentes, applicuerunt apud Caleys, tractantes, usque adventum regis Angliae, cum rege Franciae et concilio tunc existente apud Caleys, super articulis pacis hujusmodi praelocutae. Idemque rex Angliae in die festi Sancti Dionysii eodem anno de Sandewico navigans, illo die applicuit apud Caleys; et ibidem dicti reges cum magnatibus et conciliis suis utriusque regni super reformatione pacis perpetuae inter regna Francorum et Anglorum habendae tractantes adinvicem, tandem ipsi in unam certam formam pacis imperpetuum habendae et unanimiter concordarunt, et eam per manum publicam redegi fecerunt in scriptis. Et deinde, soluta regi Anglorum certa quantitate scutorum juxta ordinationem in hac parte habitam, et obsidibus Franciae in Angliam missis, idem rex Franciae in Franciam et rex Angliae in Angliam libere recesserunt. Deinde, rex Angliae parliamentum suum apud Westmonasterium post Conversionem Sancti Pauli convocans, in eodem coram praelatis et proceribus regni Angliae articulos pacis hujusmodi in verbis Gallicis conceptos mandavit publice recitari. Et die Dominica, videlicet ultimo die Februarii eodem anno, in ecclesia Westmonasterii ad altare Sancti Edwardi regis per dominum Simonem tunc Cantuariensem archiepiscopum missa solempniter decantata, in praesentia dicti regis,

praelatum, procerum et magnatum fecit dictos articulos solempniter publicari.

Postmodum, vero, die Lunae, xxvj die Septembris, anno Domini M°CCC°LX°, celebrante missa domino Guillelmo episcopo Senonensi in ecclesia beatae Mariae Boloniae supra mare, dominus Johannes rex Franciae intra missarum solempnia juramentum praestitit.

Nomina magnatum ibidem juratorum:[1] dominus Edwardus, princeps Walliae, dominus Henricus, dux Lancastriae, dominus Karolus, dux Normanniae, dominus archiepiscopus Remensis,[2] dominus Petrus, Rothomagensis archiepiscopus, dominus Willelmus, archiepiscopus Senonensis, dominus Lodowicus, comes Stampae, dominus Aegidius, episcopus Noviomensis, dominus Johannes dominus de Garensers,[3] dominus Arnulphus Daudenham,[4] marescallus regni Franciae, dominus Willelmus de Recurricis, senescallus Boloniae. Post haec, idem Johannes rex Franciae de Caleys ad villam Boloniae supra mare transiens, ibidem in praesentia domini principis Walliae et episcoporum regni Franciae, magnatumque et communitatum dicti regni Franciae, tractatum pacis hujusmodi publicavit, et juravit scriptos articulos pacis, quatinus eum concernunt, in omnibus observare. Et post hoc per dominum regem Franciae missis in Angliam obsidibus, et demum sic inter regna Franciae et Angliae pace firmata, sigillis

1. juratum, MS. 2. dominus archiepiscopus Remensis is repeated in the MS. 3. *i.e.* Garencières. 4. d'Audrehem.

utriusque partis scriptis authenticis roboratis, rex Angliae in Angliam et rex Franciae in Franciam, f. 113 ubi volebant libere divertebant. |

Secunda Pestilentia.

Anno Domini M°CCC°LXI°,[1] per totum orbem terrarum incepit gravis pestilentia et gentium mortalitas, adeo quod apud Avinionem in Romana curia circiter vii cardinales et alii praelati existentes ibidem et alii clerici diversarum nationum morte subitanea morierunt; et postea in aliis mundi partibus, quod vix tertia pars gentium remansit in vita. Postmodum, in Anglia, mense Julii eodem anno, incepit dicta pestilentia, in qua vero pueri et juvenes incipiebant mori communiter et deinde senes, tam religiosi quam beneficiati et alii sine deletu[2] personarum, subito ab hoc saeculo discesserunt, fixis primitus maculis et aliis signis mortis in corporibus sic decedentium tunc ubique. Tuncque multae erant ecclesiae vacantes et inofficiatae pro defectu sacerdotum. Et duravit pestilentia per iiii menses et amplius in partibus Anglicanis.

Anno Domini M°CCC°LXI°, die Dominica, videlicet xxvij die Octobris, dominus Simon, Dei gratia Cantuariensis archiepiscopus apud Wyndesore, praesentatis sibi literis apostolicis super dispensatione facta quod dominus Edwardus, princeps Walliae,

1. M°CCC°LX,° MS.
2. Possibly an error for delectu, but the editors of Ducange accept the reading of the text as an alternative form. In the MS. et deinde is repeated after deletu but erased.

posset in uxorem ducere dominam comitissam[1] Cantiae Johannam, filiam domini Edmundi, nuper comitis Canciae, patruelis sui, illa consanguinitatis non obstante cognatione[2] spirituali quod idem princeps duos filios dictae comitissae prius de sacro fonte levavit, matrimonium inter eos ex hujusmodi dispensatione apostolica idem archiepiscopus, contra conscientiam, ut dixit, et coactus, solempniter celebravit.

De Magno Vento.

Anno Domini M°CCC°LXII°,[3] post nuptias hujusmodi factas,[4] die Sabbati, videlicet, in festo Sancti Mauri Abbatis,[5] circa horam vesperarum dicti diei, inceperunt tempestates horribiles, nusquam alias visae vel auditae, et ventorum turbines in Anglia, adeo quod domus et aedificia pro magna parte corruerunt ad terram, et quaedam alia discooperta deformiter per flatum ventorum hujusmodi remanserunt, arboresque fructiferae in gardinis et in locis aliis et arbores aliae in nemoribus et alibi existentes cum magno sonitu a terra radicitus evulsae fuerunt, ac si [dies] judicii adveniret. Et inhabitantes terram Angliae timor et tremor sic exterruit quod nullus scivit ubi secure potuit latitare. Nam ecclesiarum campanilia, molendina ad ventum, ac mansiones multae ceciderunt ad terram, absque magna laesione corporum. Sed multa in illa tempestate stupenda et prodigia contigisse dicuntur.

1. cometissam, MS. 2. Congnatione, MS. 3. M°CCC°LXI°, MS. 4. facta, MS. 5. 15 January ; in festo is repeated in the MS.

Anno Domini M°CCC°LXIII°,[1] circa festum Assumptionis Beatae Mariae, dominus Edwardus rex ad utilitatem regni sui prohibuit antiquam[2] monetam florenorum, et ordinavit novam, scilicet majorem florenum de dimidia marca, et minorem de xl*d*. et minimum de xx*d*. Et circa idem tempus idem rex ordinavit escambium monetae suae fieri Londoniis, Cantuariae et Eboraci,[3] videlicet de
f. 113 b argento unum | nobile de iiii*d*. et alium de duobus denariis. Et de antiquis sterlingis fecit[4] fieri sterlingum paulo minorem.

Item, statuit idem rex, attentis multis dispendiis et incomodis regno Angliae, ex hoc quod in lingua Gallica placitarunt, cotidie iminentibus, quod extunc in dicto regno Angliae fiant[5] placita in lingua Anglicana, ita quod quilibet incola perpendere poterit de suo comodo[6] quit sicut dictum et sibi de remedio et auxilio, quotiens et quando opus fuerit, melius[7] expedire.

Anno Domini M°CCC°LXIII°, dux de Angeou, unus de principibus ostachiis Franciae regis et ejus filius, Lodovicus nomine, Londoniis morans,[8] accepta dolosa spatiandi licentia, accessit apud Caleys causa recreationis, ut asseruit, habendae, et ibidem a domino Johanne Cobham milite, dictae villae de Caleys capitaneo, ut,[9] causa venandi, extra Caleys parum exire posset, uno[10] dierum accepta

1. M°CCC°LXII° ? 2. antequam, MS. 3. There seems to be an omission here. 4. sicut, MS. 5. sciant, MS. 6. Something seems to have dropped out in the MS. at this point. 7. ejusdem is written after melius but deleted. 8. morantibus, MS. 9. et, MS. 10. *Sic* in MS.

licentia, cum suis dolose exivit, cogitans se nolle redire ad Angliam, contra juramentum suum.[1] Et dum in nemoribus extra Caleys, quasi venando, a conspectu inhabitantium villam de Caleys fuisset, latenter affugit, et evasit ad partes Franciae quas voluerat, ibidem congregata multitudine lancearum, ut profugus et perjurus scienter tamquam proditor equitando.

Eodem anno, nobilis princeps dominus Johannes rex Franciae, tenens festum Paschae[2] apud Boloniam supra mare, applicuit Dovorram in vigilia Epiphaniae Domini, et in ipsa morabatur ibidem. Et die Dominica in crastino post horam nonam circa vesperas dicti diei intravit civitatem Cantuariae cum magna comitiva[3] nobilium personarum, videlicet, episcopi Ambianensis, domini ducis Aureliani, germani dicti regis, ducis de Berry, filii dicti regis, comitis de Sancto Paulo, ac prioris[4] Sancti Johannis [de] Jerusalem in Francia, domini electi Cluniacensis, domini de Tankervile camerarii dicti regis, Gilberti de Molyns thesaurarii, ac Roberti Hoget burgensis Parisiensis, et aliorum.

Et fuit idem rex per dies Lunae et Martis sequentium apud Cantuariam, et die Mercurii sequente fuit apud Osprynge.] Die autem Jovis,[5] continuando Lambeth MS. 99 f. 54 b cont.

1. After suum the transcriber has written quasi venando, which was evidently taken from the next sentence. 2. An obvious mistake for Nativitatis Domini. 3. comitavia, MS. 4. priori, MS.

5. Instead of this date, J. reads: Et dehinc. The transcriber of Lamb. MS. 99 (or its original), who omitted the long passage just ended, may have inserted the date because Wednesday was the last day mentioned.

dietas suas, venit Londonias, et apud Savoye ibidem fuit hospitatus. Et causa adventus sui in Angliam, ut dixit regi Angliae, fuerat, primo, propter solutionem millenae,[1] secundo, pro hostagiis Franciae habendis. Et super hoc per ipsum regem Angliae magnatum convocato concilio de hostagiis Franciae liberandis, de diebus in dies dilationem deliberatio regis Angliae capiebat. Et interim rex Franciae apud Savoye morabatur absque expeditione finali, et per Quadragesimam sequentem coepit graviter infirmari. Et semper invaluit infirmitas sua, [adeo][2] quod propter debilitatem corporis sui cibaria carnea et de carnibus sumebat. Et illis utebatur sperans reconvalescentiam habiturus. Rex vero Angliae eundem regem Franciae in infirmitate[3] jacentem visitavit saepius, et multum doluit propter eum, et praecepit omnia desiderabilia pro conservatione (et) vitae et sui sanitate corporis sibi dari. Sed mors de diebus in dies dictum regem Franciae tam graviter insultabat quod ulterius vivere non potuit ullo modo. Die autem Lunae, videlicet viii die mensis Aprilis, anno Domini millesimo CCC°LXIIII°, circa noctem, mortuus est Johannes rex Franciae, in sana memoria atque bona apud Savoye. Et familiares sui corpus dicti regis mortui exinterarunt,[4] et cum balsamo paraverunt ad deferendum ad partes Franciae in monasterio Sancti Dionysii tumulandum;

1. milleñ, L., J. Probably a misreading of million(is).

2. Supplied from J. 3. infirmitatem, MS. 4. exinterearunt, L.

et postmodum ejus corpus ad ecclesiam Pauli Londoniensis deportatum fuerat, ubi in praesentia regis Angliae et reginae, filiorum suorum, comitum et baronum, [per][1] episcopos et abbates et alios religiosos Angliae in multitudine maxima fiebant exequiae pro anima dicti regis solempniter inauditae. Et post missarum solempnia decantata, familiares dicti regis corpus ejus deferri fecerunt eodem die apud Derteforde de nocte, et die Veneris in crastino de nocte apud Newenton', et dehinc apud Cantuariam. Die | Sabbati sequenti, videlicet xx° die mensis Aprilis, f. 55
deportatum fuit corpus ejus ad ecclesiam Cantuariensem cum solempni processione prioris et capituli ecclesiae Cantuariensis et aliorum religiosorum civitatis Cantuariae, cleroque et populo ejus sequentibus. Ubi fiebat pro anima ejus cum omni solempnitate officium mortuorum. Et in crastino, die Dominica, celebratis missis, et magna missa in ecclesia Christi Cantuariensis per Ambianensem episcopum celebrata, corpus dicti regis hora prima dicti diei Dominicae a civitate Cantuariae versus Dovorram cum magna comitiva fuerat deportatum. Et die Lunae delatum erat in Franciam, in loco electo per eum ante obitum tumulandum. Cujus corpus postmodum, die Lunae in festo Sancti Johannis ante Portam Latinam, erat in monasterio Sancti Dionysii Franciae honorifice traditum sepulturae.

1. Supplied from J.

Die vero Sancti Dunstani in festo Sanctae Trinitatis, anno Domini M°CCC°LXIIII°, apud Reignes[1] coronatus fuit in regem Franciae dominus Karolus, dalphinus Viennae, filius dicti Johannis regis defuncti, per archiepiscopum Remensem solempniter, et inunctus more regio coronatus. Hic rex post coronationem suam convocavit parliamentum suum apud Parisium, ad quod fecit vocari omnes pares regni sui et alios qui ad hoc tenerentur venire, ut ordinaret et statueret, ut asseruit, aliqua utilia regni sui; sed potius conjicitur,[2] ut aliqua contra Anglicos fierent nocitura. Veruntamen Deus omnipotens, qui regem Angliae et gentem suam hactenus salvavit, mentes Francorum a circumventionibus malivolis obturavit.

Eodem quoque anno Domini M°CCC°LXIIII^to^, in festo Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, juxta castrum de Oray[3] in Britannia Minori, facta primitus obsidione praedicti castri de Oray,[3] grave proelium fuit inter dominum Karolum de Bloys ex parte una et dominum Johannem de Monteforti ex altera [parte],[4] ratione ducatus Britanniae praedictae, ipso[5] Karolo ad eum jure hereditario ducatum pertinere debere, et ipso Johanne in contrarium, asserente.

Ex parte ipsius Caroli mortui et capti fuerunt inferius descripti, ita quod victoria dicti belli penes eundem Johannem Montfort, Domino adjuvante, remansit.

1. Rheims. 2. Convicitur, L., J. 3. Auray (Morbihan). 4. Supplied from J. 5. ipse, L. Corrected from J.

Mortui et Capti.

Dominus Karolus de Bloys mortuus.
Comes Dauciers,[1]
Comes de Jugny.[2]
Dominus de Pise.
Dominus de Brucort'.
Dominus Bertrandus de Cleukyn,[3] comes de Langevill.'[4]
Dominus comes de Roan'.[5]
Dominus de Montfort.
Dominus de Binay.[5a]
Dominus de Gregoule.[6]
Dominus P. de Glaskyn.[7]
Dominus de Montbay.
Dominus Clucstor[8] de la Foill'.
Dominus Willelmus Davagour.[9]
Dominus Johannes de Comenet.[9a]
Dominus H. de Pledray.[10]
Dominus J. Iuch'.
Dominus Capitaneus de Fouchiers.[11]
Dominus Bertrandus de Sancto Petro.
Dominus Oliverus de Mauny.
Dominus Herveys.[12]
Capitaneus de Nantes.
Dominus Guillelmus de Lesco.[13]
Capitaneus de Dinay.[14]
Capitaneus [de] Guyham.[15]

1. *i.e.* d'Auxerre.
2. Inguy, L. Corrected from J. Now spelt Joigny.
3. Claykyn, J. His Christian name is wrongly extended as Bartholomaeus in the MS.
4. Longevile (=Longueville), J.
5. *i.e.* Rohan (Côtes-du-Nord). 5a. ? Buney.
6. Eregoule, Cregoule, J. Kergorlay is meant. 7. Claykyn, J.
8. Probably Silvestre de la Feullye or Feillée (Morice, *Hist. de Bretagne*, I, 1504).
9. d'Auvagour. 9a. ? Comenech.
10. *Rectius* Pledran, near St. Brieuc.
11. Probably Fougères (Ille-et-Vilaine).
12. Herveys de Iuch', J. ? Hervey du Juch.
13. Lesto, MS. ? Lescouet (Côtes-du-Nord) Guillaume de Lescouet was captain of Lesneven for Charles of Blois in 1357 (Morice, *op. cit.*, I. 1521).
14. ? Dinan. 15. Probably Guingamp (Côtes-du-Nord).

Capitaneus de Rochedurian.[1]
Capitaneus de Lambelle.[2]
Dominus Johannes de la Monte Seint Gyle.
Dominus J. de Montenay, capitaneus de Jugon,[3] cum aliis multis.

Pro matrimonio inter Edmundum de Langele, filium[4] regis, et filiam comitis Flandriae.[5]

Die autem Sabbati ante festum Sancti Lucae Evangelistae, anno Domini M°CCC°LXIIII°, Dovorram [? venit] dominus Ludovicus, comes Flandriae, cum multis nobilibus de magnatibus Flandriae,[6] et in castro Dovorrae hospitati fuerunt. Et die Dominica sequente intravit rex Angliae dictum castrum, dum ipsi domini Flandriae ibidem erant in coena. Et post coenam idem rex et comes amicabiliter loquebantur, totam illam noctem in gaudio deducentes. Et fuerunt ibidem dux Lancastriae et dominus Edmundus de Langele, filii[7] dicti regis. Et diebus Lunae, Martii et Mercurii idem rex
f. 55 b Angliae | cum ipso comite Flandriae tractarunt de maritagio inter dictum Edmundum et dominam Johannam,[8] filiam [et] haeredem dicti comitis, faciendo; et tandem inter se quid et quantum de rege Angliae haberent dicti contrahentes amicabiliter concordarunt. Post haec, die Jovis in vigilia Sancti

1. Roche-Derrien (Côtes-du-Nord). 2. Lamballe (Côtes-du-Nord).
3. Between Dinan and Lamballe. Montenay's successor, apparently, was Alain le Maitre, appointed by duke John in October, 1364 (Morice *op. cit.* I, 1583).
4. filius, L. 5. This narrative is omitted in J.
6. There is a blank space in L. after Flandriae.
7. filius, L. 8. *Rectius*, Margaretam.

Lucae Evangelistae accessit idem comes apud Cantuariam, ad feretrum Sancti Thomae peregrinando cum dictis filiis regis Angliae et honorabili comitiva. Et in festo Sancti Lucae, facta peregrinatione sua, idem comes post prandium dicti diei recessit de Cantuaria, et venit illa nocte apud Dovorram. Et die Sabbati in crastino, unanimiter de die desponsationis inter eos, videlicet die Jovis post festum Purificationis beatae Mariae proximo tunc futurum, faciendo apud Brigges in Flandria si canonicum non obsistat.[1] Die Dominica sequente mane post jentaculum in Flandriam transfretavit. Et in vigilia apostolorum Simonis et Judae tunc sequente, dominus Simon Suthbury, Londoniensis episcopus, et dominus dux Lancastriae, et dominus Edmundus Langele, comes Cantabriggiae, filii domini regis Angliae, venerunt Cantuariam, et in crastino recesserunt Dovorram, et dehinc apud Caleys transfretarunt ad faciendum finem de praelocuto matrimonio inter dictum Edmundum de Langele et filiam dicti comitis Flandriae. Sed, obstante dispensatione papali, nichil tunc de dicto matrimonio actum erat.

Transfretatio domini principis Walliae in Vasconiam ut dux Vasconiae.

Post haec, anno Domini M°CCC°LX°,[2] per dominum Edwardum regem Angliae filio suo primogenito domino Edwardo, principe Walliae et duce Cornu-

1. The sentence seems incomplete.
2. *Rectius,* M°CCC°LXII°. The date is omitted in J.

biae, in principem Aquitaniae in pleno parliamento ordinato et facto, idem rex, de concilio regni sui et pro utilitate ejusdem, ordinavit dictum filium suum primogenitum morari debere in Vasconia ad gubernandum totam terram Aquitaniae, ut principem ejusdem. Qui iter suum versus Vasconiam in crastino Sancti Bartholomaei, anno Domini M°CCC°LXI°,[1] iter suum de Londoniis versus Vasconiam arripiens, continuatis dietis[2] venit ad Cornubiam et ibidem in Devonia morabatur per tres hebdomadas. Et in die apostolorum Petri et Pauli eodem anno applicuit in Vasconia apud castrum de Lormond distans a Burdegalia per tria miliaria dictae terrae, recipiens ab omnibus suis subditis ibidem fidelitates et homagia undequaque et moram trahens in Vasconia apud Burdegaliam et Peitiers[3] et Engilesmum[4] per vices, prout placuit sibi circuiendo. Postmodum, vero, xxvii die Januarii, anno Domini M°CCC°LXIIII°,[5] in castro de Engilesmo natus est Edwardus primogenitus Edwardi principis Walliae et Aquitaniae, de quo ibidem gaudium magnum fuit.

Bellum de Nasers in Ispania.[6]

Dum dominus Edwardus princeps Walliae in terra Vasconiae morabatur, accessit ad eum dominus Petrus, verus, ut asseruit, rex Ispaniae, requirens ab eo cum magna instantia auxilium militare contra Henricum bastardum, qui regnum Ispaniae occuparat

1. *Rectius*, MCCCLXII. Omitted in J. The scribe of L has repeated the words: iter suum versus Vasconiam. 2. diebus, L., J. 3. Peyters, J. 4. Angoulême. 5. *Rectius* MCCCLXV. Omitted in J. 6. Heading om. in J.

injuste, pro eo et ex eo quod idem princeps sibi in sanguine taliter fuerat alligatus. Nam olim Edwardus, rex Angliae, illustris filius Henrici regis Angliae, primo Alianoram filiam quondam regis Ispaniae desponsarat, de qua Edwardum [de][1] Carnarvan' in matrimonio suscitarat, et, ea mortua, de Margareta, filia regis Franciae, secunda uxore sua, Thomam de Brothertonia et Edmundum de Wodestoke genuit subsequenter, et ex hac prima causa alligationis sanguinis ipse princeps[2] regem Ispaniae juvare et defendere in suo jure regio tenebatur. Quibus per dictum principem auditis, ipse asseruit se velle cum domino suo patre, domino Edwardo rege Angliae inclito, deliberare, sibique super | hiis responsum dare pro loco et tempore f. 56
opportunis.

Anno igitur Domini M°CCC°LXVII°, habita per dictum principem super hiis deliberatione non modica, et pro eo quod idem dominus Petrus, rex Ispaniae, post obitum suum dictum principem heredem suum fieri voluit jure successionis, sicut constanter promisit, idem princeps eidem regi Ispaniae totum adjutorium suum cum potentia armata concessit, parans se [de][1] diebus in dies adversum dictum Bastardum ad pugnandum cum eo, ad hoc viris congregatis undique bellicosis. Et deinde idem princeps, advertens quod non in multitudine exercitus sed in Dei fortitudine victoria belli consistit, posuit se et suos in manum solius Dei, et

1. Supplied from J. 2. After princeps J. inserts eum.

progrediens cum exercitu suo in Ispaniam, tandem venit deprope ubi dictus Bastardus, cum exercitu suo tam fidelium quam infidelium secum existentium fuerat logiatus. Ex parte dicti principis exploratoribus et insidiatoribus belli praemissis, secundo die Aprilis, anno praedicto, eidem principi[1] juxta Naverete in Ispania, ubi tentoria sua fixerat, venerunt nova quod idem Bastardus cum exercitu suo fere per duo miliaria a dicto principe super ripam de Nazare, directis belli sui aciebus, placeam ceperant ad pugnandum ibidem, dictum principem expectando. Quibus per dictum principem gaudenter auditis, ipse in crastino, videlicet die Sabbati in Passione Domini, in festo Sancti Ricardi episcopi Cicestrensis, movebat se cum armata potentia ad debellandum Bastardum eundem.

Et habito hinc inde dicto die Sabbati gravi conflictu bellicoso, tandem cum Dei adjutorio idem Bastardus cum toto exercitu suo et gratia Dei devictus fuerat. In quo quidem bello circiter sex millia gentium armatarum, exceptis jenetoriis, pavysoriis et peditibus servientibus sine numero, in gladio ceciderunt. Quibus sic peractis, idem Bastardus fugit cum xvi personis apud Avinionem ad papam, narrans ei exitum dicti belli. Sed idem princeps nescivit pro certo ubi ipse Bastardus fuerat tempore devictionis dicti belli. Et post haec princeps ipse [cum] rege Ispaniae iter suum arripuit versus Burges civitatem, ubi adinvicem nunc morantur.

1. idem princeps, L., J.

Nomina dominorum et comitum[1] *captivorum in bello de Nasers in Ispania.*[2]

Dominus Sencho, frater regis Ispaniae.
Comes de Duny.
Dominus J. Martius[3] de Lucie.
Dominus Johannes Remers Daurialane.[4]
Dominus Bertrandus Cleykin.
Episcopus de Rilions.
Dominus Philippus de Castro.
Petrus Heurik.
Petrus Lupis Daurial.
Diatelapus, frater suus.
Gracy Alberite de Tholeto.
Rodeus de Roche.
Dominus Bertrandus de Gabaray.
Petrus Ferrandus de Blask.
Petrus Gunsalmur de Medasco.
Johannes Senchyse Manuel[5]
Petrus Sermiento'.[6]
Sencho Senchisie Moscoste.[7]

1. Com̄., L. Om. J.

2. Reading gives the same list with one or two variations due to his carelessness or to that of transcribers. These are noted below, but identifications of the other names (where possible) will be found in the footnotes to the passage in Reading (above p. 183).

3. Martyn, J.

4. Remerys Daurialane in J., which then concludes (f. 115b) with the sentence : "et alii inibi usque ad numerum V millium bonarum gentium armatarum, exceptis Jenetoriis, Pavisoriis, et servientibus sine numero."

5. Juan Sanchez Manuel. Reading omits the next name and runs this and the next but one into a single name.

6. Pero Sarmiento (Albornoz in Moisant, *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine*, App., p. 278).

7. Sancho Sanchez de Moscoso (*ib.*).

Abbas Lupus de la Serne.
Alphosus Henrik, filius regis Henrici Bastardi.[1]
Homfigus magister de Federik.
Johannes Stoner.
Comes de Gastenado.
Sencho de Tholar.
Sencho Lupus Papatus.
Clericus de Ballamus.
Fernandus de Civile.
Claviger de Calatrave.
Petrus de Malfaleto.
Claviger de la Cant.
Johannes Romeye.
Diegus Remoris.
La dya Mascant.[2]
Petrus Gonys de Porry [et] ejus filius.[3]
Rogo Sarus de Sivers.
Magister Sancti Jacobi.
Magister Hospitalis Hispaniae.
f, 56 b | Gubernator de Seragos.
Marescallus Daudenham.
Dominus J. Remeruk.
Dominus Becco de Vileyns.

Et alii ad summam M[1]M[1] et amplius bonarum gentium.

1. Henricus Bastard on a new line below in the MS. as if a separate person. The Henrik (originally doubtless Henrici) is superfluous with this addition. He appears in Albornoz's list as Alfonsus Enrici filius ipsius regis (*op. cit.*, p. 277).

2. Probably part of the name above. Reading has Guydo de Remeris de Dramascoveit.

3. ? Gomez Perez de Porres (see p. 184).

Mortui in bello de Nasers.

Sencho Lopus Devesque.
Sencho Senchis de Roches.
Garcy Basies.
Gonsalvus Comes de Siveris.
Albarus Fernandus de Bosco.
Dominus J. Sermentour.

Et alii usque ad numerum quinque M[l] vel VI millium bonarum gentium armatarum, exceptis jenetoriis, pavisoriis, et servientibus sine numero.

NOTES.

I. John of Reading's Chronicle.

P. 99, l. 14. *Consilio magnatum in parliamento.* This seems to be the only mention of a Great Council at Westminster, held before Easter (16 April) in this year.

P. 99, l. 17. *xii die Julii.* Edward landed at La Hougue near Barfleur on Wednesday, 12 July (Murimuth, p. 199; Avesbury, p. 358; *Kitchen Journal* and contemporary *Itinerary* in Sir E. Maunde Thompson's notes to Geoffrey le Baker, pp. 252-3). Geoffrey le Baker (p. 79) by a slip in the day of the month gives the 13th as the day of arrival. Knighton (II, 33) makes Edward leave La Hougue on the 12th instead of Tuesday, 18 July (Baker, p. 252). The date of landing is not supplied in the account which is common to the Polychronicon, the Continuation of Murimuth and the St. Albans Chronicles, nor do they mention the six days halt at La Hougue, for which see Avesbury, p. 357 (per *sex dies quievit*); Murimuth, p. 201; Baker, pp. 80, 252-3.

P. 99, l. 24. *In vicis, domibus et hortis.* This detail is evidently derived from Michael de Northburgh's letter (Avesbury, p. 359: *en les rues, mesouns et es gardines*) with which the text also agrees as to the number of knights captured. The number of men-at-arms said to have been taken is perhaps a misreading of Northburgh's statement that the whole armed force in the town, apart from the citizens, amounted to five or six hundred men. But as Northburgh only mentions the count of Eu (Raoul de Brienne, d. 1350) under his official title of constable of France, Reading must have had other sources of information. Bartholomew de Burghersh (Murimuth, p. 203) estimated the total number killed and taken, excluding knights, at about 5,000 and according to Baker (p. 80) more than 1,300 townsmen were slain.

P. 100, l. 1. *Ad nudos usque parietes . . . spoliata.* The phrase occurs in Richard Wynkeley's letter (Avesbury, p. 362), which is followed as far as the arrival of the army at Poissy, from which point Avesbury, whose work Reading evidently had before him, preferred the fuller account given in Northburgh's second letter written from Calais on 4 September (*ibid.*, pp. 367-9).

Reading's only additions are the remark on the French superiority in numbers and the popular sarcasm on Philip's retirement from the battle: 'Noster beal retreit.'

The statement that the French after the second action on the morning after the battle (27th Aug.) were pursued for three *miles,* where Northburgh says three *leagues,* is probably only a slip of the pen. Northburgh, it should be added, is in error in speaking of the earl of *Norfolk* as one of the English commanders. The title was extinct. Perhaps the earl of Suffolk is meant.

P. 101, l. 11. *Tertio die post bellum,* etc. The brief description of the advance from Crécy to Calais and the siege of that town is taken, in part verbally, from Avesbury (pp. 369-72). According to the official Kitchen Journal and the Cotton MS. Itinerary (Baker, pp. 252-3) the English army left Crécy on Monday, 28th August, but perhaps owing to the funeral ceremonies for the king of Bohemia, and a 'bad passage' (of the Authie) on the second day (*ibid.,* p. 86), they had only reached Maintenay, eight or nine miles north of the battlefield by Tuesday evening. Northburgh merely says that they departed from Crécy for Boulogne on Monday morning (Avesbury, p. 369) and Reading's *tertio die* must therefore be taken to be an inclusive reckoning.

Reading follows Avesbury himself (p. 372) in dating the siege of Calais from 3 September, 1346, to 3 August, 1347. But the initial date at least is confronted by a concurrence of authority in favour of one a day later. The Kitchen Journal and the Itinerary agree that Edward reached Calais on Monday, 4 September, Baker places the beginning of the siege on that day and Northburgh writing on the same day, probably just after the arrival of the army, says that he has heard that the king intends to lay siege to the town (Avesbury, p. 369). It is curious that Avesbury should have overlooked or ignored the impossibility of reconciling this statement with the date he gives. Equally hard to understand is M. Luce's assertion that Northburgh dates the arrival at Calais on 2 September (*Chron. de Froissart,* IV, iii). Froissart vaguely makes the siege begin 'about the feast of the Decollation of St. John' (*ibid.* p. 63) *i.e.* 29 August, following Jean le Bel (ed. Polain, II, 139) who has "a l'issue d'aoust."

Sir Edward Maunde Thompson finds a contradiction between the entry in the Kitchen Journal that Edward slept at Vintevill (Wimille) on the nights of the 2 and 3 September and the statement of the Cotton Itinerary that they were passed '*entre* Wytsand.' He takes the latter to mean 'at Wissant' and marks on his map alternative routes from Boulogne to Calais, one direct from Wimille

and the other by the coast through Wissant. But on the face of it, the Itinerary entry suggests the omission of a word or two by the fifteenth century transcriber and the suspicion is confirmed when we turn to Wynkeley's letter (Murimuth, p. 217) which is dated "inter Bolonian et Witesand, ii die Septembris." Wimille answers to this indication and we may account for the periphrasis, either by the obscurity of the place or by conjecturing that the camp was fixed at some distance from the village.

Avesbury's date for the surrender of Calais, Friday, 3 August, 1347, is less strongly impugned. It rests indeed on his sole authority and is contradicted by Baker (p. 90) and Knighton (II, 51), who both place the capitulation a day later. But as the French army of relief had retired on Thursday, 2 August, before dawn (Avesbury, p. 395), it is not obvious why the surrender should have been postponed for two days, unless Edward formally waited until after Friday evening up to which he had undertaken to accept battle, if offered by Philip. If Avesbury's date here is correct, he may unconsciously have assimilated to it the day of the month when the siege began.

The brief account of the end of the siege which passed into the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 177) from the Polychronicon (IX, 342), strangely dates it "about the feast of St. Bartholomew" (24 August) and even asserts that the siege lasted 'a year and more,' an error which is copied by the St. Albans compilers (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 23).

P. 101, l. 25. *Tenente consilium . . . Henrico Comite Derbeiae.* The account of the raising of the siege of Aiguillon and Derby's dash into Saintonge and Poitou in August-October, 1346, is abridged from the earl's letter in Avesbury (p. 372). The Chronicon Angliae (p. 24) copies it from Reading.

P. 102, l. 13. *Quo anno . . . Margaretam.* The St. Albans chronicler (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 24; Wals., I, 269) places the birth of Margaret in its strict chronological order before Derby's campaign, but it is unfortunate that he has dropped a figure and gives the date as III Kalendas Augusti (30 July) instead of XIII Kalendas Augusti (20 July). The erroneous date has been accepted by all who have not preferred to follow Froissart's circumstantial assertion (an addition to Le Bel) that Margaret was born at Calais shortly after its capture in 1347 (ed. Luce, IV, 64, 296). Among the latter is Joshua Barnes who, after rebuking Walsingham for antedating the birth of Margaret of Calais, as he says she was called, picks a hole in Sandford's account of her in his Genealogical History

(p. 179) : "Nor is Mr. Sandford to be omitted who makes the Place of her Birth to be *Windsor* without any Authority but Conjecture" (*Hist. of Edward,* III, p. 411). It is true that neither Reading nor the St. Albans writers mention the place of birth, but, unluckily for Barnes, entries in the Patent Rolls (*Cal.* 1348-50, p. 468; 1350-54, p. 294) show that she was called Margaret 'de Windsor,' and so convict him of the very offence he lays to his contemporary's charge.

The accuracy of Reading's first independent item of information (for he certainly did not take this from Avesbury or any other known chronicle) is unexpectedly demonstrated by a record printed in Rymer's Foedera (Rec. ed., III, 86), being a warrant under date 20 *July,* 1346, for the payment of £500 for the expenses of the purification of queen Philippa.

Froissart's inaccuracies are notorious, but it is rather surprising that he should be so wrong on a point on which, owing to his interest in his countrywoman and his long association afterwards with her household, he might have been expected to be well-informed.

It becomes a question whether any child was born to Philippa in the autumn of 1347 after the taking of Calais, and in this connection it must be remembered that the queen's condition is put forward prominently in the famous story of her intercession for the burgesses of Calais which Froissart took over from Jean le Bel. If there was such a birth, the child must have been the short-lived William de Windsor (unless we assume that the recorded list of Edward III's children is incomplete) and Froissart would still be in error as to the place of birth. Mr. Hunt in his life of Philippa in the Dictionary of National Biography seems to take the view that this son was born at Windsor after the return of the king and queen from Calais in October, but gives no reference.

Reading, besides supplying the one accurate notice of Margaret's birth, is also the only chronicler who records her premature death in 1361. See above p. 102, and note p. 293

P. 102, l. 17. *Ad Crucem de Nevil.* Despite some coincidences of phrase, the account of the battle of Neville's Cross (17 October, 1346) given here is hardly a mere abridgment of Avesbury's narrative (pp. 376-7). The Scottish expectation of finding the North of England bared of defenders does not come from him (for a parallel passage, see Knighton, II, 42) and Reading's comparison of the numbers of the two armies, if not a mere rough estimate, is drawn from some source unknown to us. Again, while

Avesbury singles out the earls of Moray and Stratherne for special mention among the slain, Reading says "the earl of Moray and *his brother.*" John Randolph earl of Moray had no brother, but our chronicler may have had before him a list in which the earl of Stratherne's family name Maurice de Moray was added, or one of those in which the two names are given as if they belonged to separate persons (cf. Knighton, II, 43). In the later case a preceding 'frater ejus,' which really belongs to the name just before, may have contributed to the error of a hasty abstracter.

The statement that the captives were brought to London after only a few days' delay is inaccurate. Murimuth says (p. 219) that, with the exception of the king, they were sent south before Christmas, but that David, who had been wounded in the head, was not lodged in the Tower until 2 January, 1347 (*circa Epiphaniam:* Knighton, II, 46).

Reading's account of the battle was translated by the writer of the English Brut chronicle (ed. Brie, p. 300) but was not followed by the St. Albans chronicler.

P. 103, l. 16. *Johanna . . . regina Scotiae.* Reading seems alone in recording queen Joan's grief after the Scottish disaster (cf. Green, *Princesses of England,* II, 139). In October, 1348, she obtained a safe-conduct from her brother Edward III to visit her captive husband, and from that date to her death in 1362 much of her life was spent in England (*Dict. of Nat. Biogr., XXIX,* 391). Doubtless she was frequently at Westminster.

P. 103, l. 24. *Carcerorum evasiones . . . indulsit.* The charter really belongs to the next year (28 May, 1347) and the prayers of the monks were not the only consideration that passed : "Whereas the abbot and convent of Westminster in the Council summoned at Westminster at Midlent lent the king ten sacks of wool and afterwards of their own will gave him the same, the king having regard to the gift and to the fact that they above the other religious men of the realm are assiduous in prayers for the state of the realm, has pardoned the abbot and convent all that pertains to him in respect of escapes of felons, thieves or other prisoners in their custody by reason of their lordship or of their jurisdiction as ordinary" (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1345-8, p. 540).

Nicholas Litlington, afterwards prior (1352-1362) and abbot (1362-1386), was a great benefactor and builder at Westminster (Flete, *Hist. of Westminster Abbey,* ed. Armitage Robinson, pp. 131, 133-9; D.N.B. XXXIII, 362, and *supra,* pp. 103, 109, 151). Barnes in his History of Edward III (p. 910) quotes from Robert Glover (1544-88), Somerset Herald, a statement that Litlington was a natural son

of Edward, but points out that it is inconsistent with the dates of his career. His influence at Court may have given rise to the rumour.

P. 104, l. 6. *Ad modum civitatis Londoniarum.* The nearest parallel, in English chronicles, to this description of the camp before Calais is in Knighton (II, 39) : "Rex Edwardus fixit tentoria circa villam Calesiae pro se et exercitu suo, et hospitatus est in modum civitatis." Cf. Froissart's picture : " Quant li rois d'Engleterre fu venu premierement devant le ville de Calais, ensi que cils qui moult le desiroit a conquerre [il] le assega par grant maniere et bonne ordenance. Et fist bastir et ordonner entre le ville et le rivière et le pont de Nulais hostelz et maisons, et carpenter de gros mairiens, et couvrir les dittes maisons, qui estoient assises et ordonnées par rues bien et faiticement, d'estrain et de genestres, ensi que donc que il deuist là demorer dix ans ou douze" (ed. Luce, IV, 1-2).

P. 104, l. 10. *Quo anno . . . Karolus de Bloys.* This description of the siege of La Roche-Derrien (near Tréguier in northern Brittany) by Charles de Blois and his defeat there by Sir Thomas Dagworth on 20 June, 1347, is extracted from Dagworth's despatch in Avesbury (p. 388). In his enumeration of the beaten forces Reading omits 500 local archers (*archiers du pais* contrasted with the 2,000 cross-bowmen (*balistarii*)) and the commons, of whose numbers Dagworth was unable to give an accurate estimate. The English too had 100 archers more than is here stated. It should be observed that Reading turns "nettez gentz darmes, chivalers et esquiers" by "homines armorum," and "dautres gentz darmes" by " armati."

The St. Albans compiler takes his account of the victory of La Roche-Derrien either from Reading, or perhaps more probably from Avesbury directly, since he gives the number of the English archers correctly, and mentions the uncertainty as to the number of the Franco-Breton infantry (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 26; Wals., *Hist. Angl.*, I, 272).

An earlier victory of Dagworth over Charles of Blois against greater odds, dated by this compiler on 3 June, 1346, (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 24) seems actually to have been fought on Friday, 9 June, in that year. There is a full and very interesting account of this battle, the scene of which was in Leon, in a St. Albans continuation of the Historia Aurea ascribed to John of Tynemouth, contained in MS. 5, Corpus Christi Coll., Cambridge, to which my attention was drawn by Mr. Geoffrey Baskerville. The same account, a little

compressed, is given in the Ypodigma Neustriae (Rolls series), pp. 288-9. See also Lobineau, Historie de Bretagne, I, 338.

Dagworth was appointed king's lieutenant and captain in Brittany on 10 January, 1347, having previously served there under the earl of Northampton (*Foedera,* III, 847).

For other accounts of the battle of La Roche-Derrien see the Grandes Chroniques (ed. Paulin Paris, V, 472), and Froissart (ed. Luce, IV, 40 sqq., 263) who puts the number of the Franco-Bretons as low as 3,600. cf. also Tout in Political Hist. of England, III, 367-8.

P. 104, l. 20. *Dominus Philippus de Valesio,* etc. Philip VI's belated and futile effort to relieve Calais is described from Avesbury (pp. 390-4). Reading however has misunderstood his original in regard to the date fixed for the battle which the French offered and Edward accepted. The English king was to choose any time between Tuesday, 31 July, when the offer was made, and vespers on Friday, 3 August. Also, by omitting to note that Edward did not give his answer until Wednesday, Reading seems to convey the impression that the French decamped in the night between Tuesday and Wednesday, which is a day too early. (See above p. 104.)

For his account of the surrender of Calais, Reading has also used Avesbury (pp. 386, 395-6), but the description of the delivery of the keys is drawn from some other source. It is of considerable interest, because, in one detail, it comes nearer to the famous story which Froissart elaborated from Le Bel than the two other versions of the scene by English chroniclers, which we give here for comparison. Knighton's account (II, 51) is as follows :

> " Igitur cum vidissent cives Calesiae vecordiam Francorum, subtraxerunt de muris vexilla Franciae, et vexilla regis Angliae quartilata de armis Angliae et Franciae elevantes, feceruntque ejulatum magnum et voce lugubri clamaverunt ad regem Edwardum pro misericordia tanquam gentes fame pereuntes sine subsidio ; et reddiderunt villam se et cuncta sua ad gratiam regis Edwardi, scilicet IV die Augusti anno Domini MCCCXLVII sub tali forma. Venerunt de Calesia reddere se et villam regi Edwardo dominus Johannes de Vyenna capitanius cum aliis pluribus. Milites villae custodes veniunt distinctim cum discoopertis capitibus habentes gladios transversos in manibus, quorum unus gladius significavit quod rex vi et armis villam conquisierat ; alter vero, quod subjiciebant se ad voluntatem regis mittere eos ad mortem vel aliter de eis faceret votum suum. Burgenses vero procedebant cum simili forma, habentes funes singuli in manibus suis, in signum quod rex eos laqueo suspenderet vel salvaret ad voluntatem suam ; et voce altisona

regi clamabant quod false et proditiose villam tenuerant et defenderant contra eum. Rex vero misericordia motus suscepit eos in gratiam suam et gratiose eos tractabat."

Geoffrey le Baker's version (pp. 91-2) presents considerable variations :

"Turpi fuga tiranni Francorum Calisiensibus obsessis comperta, eius stacionardum cum ingenti luctu de turri in foveam proiecerunt, et sabbato sequenti illorum capitaneus, in bellica praxici miles multum eruditus, vocatus Iohannes de Vienna, ianuis apertis, insidebat parvo runcino, impos pre gutta pedes incedere (cf. Froissart, IV, 159), collum corda constrictus, venit coram rege; quem alii milites et burgenses pedites, nudi capita et discalciatı, funes ad colla eciam habentes, sequebantur. Capitaneus itaque optulit regi spatam guerrariam, tamquam inter omnes Christianos preliorum principi precipuo et qui contra maximum regem Christianorum illam villam cum decencia militari conquisivit potenter. Secundo sibi tradidit claves ville. Tercio, appellans regiam pietatem atque poscens misericordiam, protulit regi gladium pacis, quo sentencias rectas adiudicaret atque parceret subiectis et superbos castigaret. Oblata receptans, ipsum capitaneum et XV milites totidemque burgenses pietas regalis misit in Angliam, largis eos ditans muneribus atque libertate quo vellent eundi eiis concessa; populares eciam repertos in villa piis elemosinis regiis refectos iussit usque versus castrum de Gynes indemnes conduci."

It will be seen that Reading's *funibus collo appensis . . . nudos usque ad camisiam et femoralia* has a closer verbal parallelism than the corresponding phrases in either of the two accounts just quoted, to the words of Le Bel (II, 135) : *en pur et simples chemises, la hart au col* and a still closer one to Froissart's *tout nu, en pur leurs braies et leurs chemises . . . et hars en leur colz* (*Chroniques*, ed. Luce, IV, 59).

The three English authorities in question are silent on Edward's insistence that at least the leading burgesses who came out in such humiliating guise should die to slake his vengeance, and on queen Philippa's successful intervention on their behalf, as related by Le Bel and Froissart, but the concurrence of their testimony leaves no doubt that the king had required unconditional surrender.

The Florentine chronicler Giovanni Villani agrees with the French writers just mentioned in attributing to him a desire to treat the men of Calais as pirates for their former depredations upon English shipping. Another French chronicler, of later date,

declares that, on beginning the siege, Edward had warned them that, if he took the town by force, he would put them all to death :

> "Quant je juray le siege, je vous promis que, se je vous prenois par forche, il n'en eschaperoit jà homme qu'il ne mourut ; mais pour ce que vous avés esté si bonz et si loyalz a votre droit seigneur, je vous en laroy aler vos vies sauves." (Pierre Cochon, *Chron. Normande,* ed. C. R. de Beaurepaire, p. 71.)

A more detailed corroboration of Le Bel's story of the surrender is available, if the account given of this event by the well-informed and contemporary writer of the Chronique Normande (ed. Molinier, p. 90) can be taken as absolutely independent. His description of the disposition of the French forces in the neighbourhood of Calais during the siege is so full that his editors conclude that he must have been present in person as an officer of one of Philip's garrisons. If this be so, it lends special importance to his brief narrative of the surrender :

> " Lors se rendirent les bourgeois de Calais par cele maniere, que six des bourgois de la ville en alerent au roy Edouart en linges, draps deffublez et deschauciez, la hart au col, mais par la priere de la royne sa femme, ilz furent de mort respitez et tout le commun peuple de la ville s'en parti à sauveté de corps, mais leur avoir perdirent et tous les chevaliers qui là estoient de par le roy de France, se rendirent et furent prins à rançon."

First published in 1882, the chronicle was not used by M. Luce in his valuable note on the story, in the fourth volume of his edition of Froissart (p. xxv).

For the date of the surrender see above p. 231.

Reading's narrative of the end of the siege and the conclusion of the truce is pretty closely translated in the Brut (ed. Brie, pp. 300-301), but with one curious variation. The translator, after mentioning the removal of the French banners, says that the besieged "wenten *on the walles of the toun and in other divers placys* as naked as they were bore, saf hire chirtys and brechys and holdyn hire swerdus naked, and the poynt downward, in hire handez and puttyn ropys and halterys abowte hire neckys and yolden up the keyes of the toun and of the Castell to Kyng Edward, with grete fere and drede of hert."

P. 105, l. 14. *Treugae . . . per novem menses duraturae.* This detail is not in Avesbury, and was apparently taken from Higden's Polychronicon (ed. Lumby, VIII, 344).

P. 105, l. 20. *O beata domina mea Maria,* etc. The incident is taken with some changes of phrase from the Polychronicon (VIII,

344) where Edward's still more tempestuous voyage from Brittany early in 1343, alluded to here, which is said to have lasted five weeks (Knighton, II, 27), is found duly described on an earlier page, and attributed to French nigromancers.

The St. Albans compiler (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 25; Wals., I, 271) has the same story, with peculiarities of wording also occurring in the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 177), which (and not Higden) was no doubt his immediate source.

Edward's outburst is placed by the Cotton MS. Cleopatra, A. XVI, f. 152, and (following it) by the Brut (p. 295), during the earlier voyage from Brittany (1343). This is confused with his return from Flanders in November, 1340, after the siege of Tournay, a mistake due to the fact that in the Polychronicon (p. 336) the Breton campaign immediately follows the raising of the siege, and the rubricator of the marginal dates failed to perceive that there was an interval of two years between these events.

P. 105, l. 29. *Haesitantes ob suam incredulitatem,* etc. Apart from this and a short passage in the St. Albans compilation (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 26; Wals., I, 273), which is almost certainly abridged from Reading, the story of the temporary conversions to Christianity among the plague-stricken Orientals occurs in two other English chronicles. Geoffrey le Baker (p. 99) says that the Saracens, Turks and others were so terrified that, when they learned that there was no unusual mortality beyond the Sea of Greece, they decided to accept the Christian faith, but he does not report the reaction which took place after the plague had begun to ravage Western Europe. Knighton (II, 59) tells the story only of the king of Tharsis, whose land had received the pest from India and passed it on to the Saracens (Barnes, p. 434) places Tharsis in Commagene, but without stating his authority). The king set off with a large number of his nobles to go to Avignon and be baptized by the pope, but, when twenty days' journey on his way, heard that the pestilence was now raging among the Christians and retraced his steps. The Christians, it is added, pursued him and cut off some two thousand of his followers.

Neither Baker nor Knighton would seem to be the source used by Reading, and he is the only authority for the permission extended, even after the reaction, to Christians to preach and teach in the East, provided they did not make conversions among Mahometans.

His estimate that nine-tenths of the inhabitants of those regions were carried off by the plague is of course a wild guess. The mortality in England was sometimes put at the same exaggerated figure (Baker, *loc. cit.; Polychronicon,* VIII, 355).

The Brut (p. 301) omits the alleged Oriental conversions, but copies Reading's estimate of the number of deaths in the East.

P. 106, l. 21. *Circa partes meridianas . . . exceptis.* The earlier part of this description of the great rains of 1348 and the plague which followed bears so close a verbal similarity to a passage in the Polychronicon (VIII, 346, cf. 355), that there can be no doubt that the one is taken from the other or from some common source. The chief divergencies are (1) that Reading locates the rains in the South and West, and (2) that, after mentioning the ravages of the plague at the Roman Court, he adds : "et alia loca maritima et aquosa" where the Polychronicon has "et circa maritimas urbes Angliae et Hiberniae."

Reading's account of the wholesale burial of those who died of the plague (save the more important persons) in pits, where the bodies were arranged in layers, has no parallel in the Polychronicon. Avesbury (p. 407) and Geoffrey le Baker (p. 199) mention the new cemeteries that had to be opened at London, but do not describe the method of burial.

The whole section is pretty closely translated in the Brut (p. 301) which, however, carelessly reverses the initial and closing dates of the protracted rains, and emphasises their responsibility for the plague by introducing the words : " thoruz whiche watres, the pestilence was sone infected."

For the mortality at Avignon see Knighton, II, 59.

P. 107, l. 6. *De quadam proditione contracta apud Caleys,* etc. Reading's account of Geoffrey de Charny's attempt, early in January, 1350, to get possession of Calais by a treacherous bribe and its dramatic frustration is little more than an unskilful précis of the fuller story in Avesbury (pp. 408-410). Identities of wording present themselves throughout, and Reading has nothing that is not in Avesbury save (1) the fact that Edward was staying at his manor of Havering atte Bower in Essex just before crossing to Calais to foil the intended surprise, and (2) an assertion that the advance party of the French, when admitted into the castle, was actually allowed to seize and bind some of the defenders before it found itself entrapped.

Reading is wrong in saying that the king celebrated Christmas at Havering, for he was apparently at Reading on 26 December (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1348-50, p. 435), but he was at the former manor from the 27th onwards. The second addition to Avesbury's narrative just noted has affinities with the elaborate form of the story given by Geoffrey le Baker (p. 105), in which the French,

after running up their royal standard on the highest tower of the castle, seized Thomas de Kingston (afterwards, if not already, its constable) who pretended ignorance of the plot, and put him in the stocks. Reading finds no support however in bringing Charny himself into the castle with the advance party. The different accounts vary considerably in detail, but all agree that Charny remained outside with the bulk of his force and was captured in the fight along the causeway, when the English, after overpowering the advance party, came out and joined battle with him.

One of the points on which the authorities differ is with regard to the original intentions of the Genoese, or more accurately, Lombard mercenary—Italian soldiers in France were usually Genoese—Amerigo or Emery da Pavia who accepted Charny's bribe (20,000 crowns according to the French chroniclers). Jean le Bel (II, 147), followed by Froissart, asserts that he entered in good faith into the plot, but that Edward discovered it before it was too late, and forced him to carry through the arrangement as an ambush for Charny and his party. Avesbury holds that he was loyal, but also wanted to pocket the money. Baker (p. 102), while admitting that he disclosed the scheme to Edward and shocked by his cynicism in convincing Charny of his *bona fides* by taking the sacrament with him, does not hesitate to say that, if the French had succeeded, he would not have allowed loyalty to stand in his way. However this may be, Jean le Bel's version does not seem consistent with Edward's grant to Amerigo a few weeks later of an annuity of £160 with the reversion of a further £40 on the death of his brother Dominic (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1348-50, pp. 461, 465).

Avesbury agrees with the French authorities in describing Amerigo da Pavia as captain of the castle at Calais. The only office held by him of which there is official record is that of captain of the king's galleys, conferred on him on 24 April, 1348 (*Foedera*, III, 159; cf. *Anon. Cant.*, above p. 195). But as John de Beauchamp, who was captain of the castle in July of that year (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, p. 172), became captain of the town on 1 January, 1349 (*Foedera*, III, 181), it is possible that the Lombard soldier was his successor in the former post. Baker, however, who for some inexplicable reason calls him Emericus de *Padua*, seems to imply that he was only in charge of one of the towers.

Another point of variance in different versions of the episode is in regard to the means used to entrap the French advance party. Avesbury says that the drawbridge was raised behind them, but according to Baker's very circumstantial story it had been half-sawn through, and after they had entered was broken down by a heavy stone, precipitated from an opening above the gateway.

The difficulty in the case of this latter version is to understand how the king and his followers got out to attack Charny.

The date of the attempt is also variously stated by the chroniclers, who are not even all agreed as to the year. Jean le Bel places it vaguely in 1348, Froissart on the night of 31 December, 1348 (ed. Luce, IV, 81), the Chronique Normande (p. 91) in 1349 without any more precise indications. The two original English authorities, Avesbury and Baker, relate the episode under 1349, when Charny's plot was formed, but give it a position which, coupled with the day of the month they furnish, shows that the actual attempt was made in January, 1350. The shorter derivative accounts in Reading, the Continuation of Murimuth and the St. Albans chronicle would, standing alone, be taken to imply a date in January, 1349. Sir Edward Maunde Thompson indeed thinks that this last was the date to which Baker really intended to refer the incident (Baker, p. 272). Baker says that Edward first got wind of the conspiracy during the ceremonies of the translation of St. Thomas (Cantilupe) of Hereford, at which he was present, and which in its turn he certainly connects with events that really happened in 1348. But in asserting that the translation itself took place in that year his editor allows himself to be misled by the confused order of events in Knighton at this point, for the Close Rolls (*Cal.*, 1349-54, p. 138) show that Edward was at Hereford on 26 October, 1349, and from two independent sources we know that October 25th was the day of the translation (Knighton, II, 64; *Polychronicon,* VIII, 355). Reading and the other minor English chronicles, it should be noted, misplace this (and other events of 1349) under the next year (see above p. 112 and note, p. 246).

Even as to the day of the month fixed for Charny's attempt there is no agreement among the chroniclers. Froissart says that it was made in the night between the 31 December (1348) and the 1 January (1349). This is supported by the Grandes Chroniques de France (ed. Paulin Paris, V, 491) but not, as M. Luce alleges (Froissart, IV, 32), by Avesbury whose date is 'the morrow of the Circumcision,' i.e., 2 January. Baker has 14 January, though his editor silently ignores his testimony in favour of that of Froissart. It is amusing to find that they are all wrong, for among a number of pardons for offences from homicide downwards granted to those who took part in the fight, is one dated 22 April, 1350, to Richard atte Ree of Souldrop, Bedfordshire, "in consideration of his good service in a conflict between the king and the French at Calais on 4 January last" (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1348-50, p. 511). The Canterbury chronicle has the exact day of the week and month but the wrong year (above p. 194). Is it possible that Baker originally

wrote 'quarta' not 'quartadecima' or did he misread the correct date in some authority he was following?

Two years later, on the capture of the fort of Frethun in the Calais march, Amerigo da Pavia fell into the hands of the man he had deceived, now again at liberty, and Charny had him put to death with a refinement of cruelty which to French contemporaries at any rate seemed but a just return for the "courtoisie qu'il leur avoit fait," but which causes a more humane age almost to forget his double-dealing and sacrilege in horror at his fearful end (*Chron. Normande,* p. 104; Froissart, IV, 98). For a short biography of Charny see the notes of Luce (*ibid.* p. 31) and Sir Edward Maunde Thompson (Baker, p. 276).

Reading's account of the attempt on Calais is somewhat freely translated by the author of the English Brut (ed. Brie, p. 302), whose most notable expansion of his original is in turning "de latibulis exeuntes Anglici" by "our Englisshe men wente out at privy holes and wendawes, and overe the wallys of the toun and of the castel."

The continuator of Murimuth (ed. Hog, pp. 178-9), or rather the continuator of the Polychronicon whom he follows (above p. 53), has made a summary of the episode, probably based upon Reading with touches direct from Avesbury, which was adopted by the St. Albans compiler, and decked out with the turgid additions and paraphrases in which he delighted (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 27; Wals., I, 273-4). The king, for instance, goes into battle "frendens apri more et ab ira et dolore turbatus" instead of merely "aliqualiter perturbatus." It should be noted that these writers expand the king's cry as given by Avesbury (and Reading): 'A! Edward, seint George!' into 'Ha seint Edward! ha seint George,' taking the king's name for that of a second saint.

P. 108, l. 8. *Hoc anno . . . saeva mortalitas.* Reading notes only the ordinary symptoms of bubonic plague, carbuncles and swellings in the groin and armpits. For the special symptoms exhibited by the pestilence of 1348-9 see Hecker, *Epidemics of the Middle Ages* (Sydenham Soc.), pp. 4-5, and Gasquet, *The Great Pestilence,* p. 7. The frequency of death within three days was commonly observed.

Reading's notice of pope Clement's indulgence, and of the vacancy in the archbishopric of Canterbury caused by the death of John de Offord (or Ufford) from the plague before he had been consecrated, seems to have passed through a continuation of the Polychronicon represented by B.M. Addit. MS. 10,104 (f. 150) into the Continuation of Murimuth (ed. Hog, pp. 179-180) and thence into the St. Albans

Chronicon Angliae (p. 28) and (the indulgence only) Walsingham's Historia Anglicana (I, 274). The passage down to 'indulsit' is translated in the Brut (ed. Brie, p. 303). Offord, who had been provided by papal bull on 24 September, 1348, died on 20 May, 1349. Bradwardine's consecration at Avignon is also noted by 'Birchington' (Anglia Sacra, I, 42) with date (19 July), but Reading seems to be the only chronicler who mentions the appointment of John de Thoresby, bishop of St. Davids, to succeed Offord as chancellor. This took place on 16 June. Thoresby later became bishop of Worcester (1350) and archbishop of York (1352).

P. 108, l. 22. *Discessit . . . abbas Westmonasterii.* Simon de Bircheston, who had been abbot since November, 1344, died on 15 May, 1349. Besides the abbot twenty-six of the monks, one-half of the whole community, are said to have been carried off by the plague. The statement is first made by the fifteenth century historian of the abbey, John Flete (ed. Armitage Robinson, p. 128), but its substantial accuracy is established by examination of the contemporary lists of monks before and after the pestilence (Armitage Robinson, "Simon Langham, Abbot of Westminster," in *Church Quarterly Review*, LXVI, 340 (July, 1908)).

Reading is more outspoken about Bircheston's shortcomings than Flete who however conveys the same impression indirectly by his praise of Langham's restoration of order, discipline and financial stability. He records (p. 131) that the new abbot paid off debts incurred by his predecessor to the large amount of 2,200 marks. Langham, who had been prior only a few months—his predecessor in this office also falling a victim to the plague—was elected abbot on 27 May *per viam compromissionis*, seven electors being chosen to represent the community. Reading was one of the electors (see above p. 11).

Nicholas de Litlington, to whom the abbey owed the recovery of the profits which were claimed by the crown during a vacancy of the office of abbot, was afterwards Langham's successor (1362-1386) and perhaps the greatest benefactor of the house. If we could believe a statement made by the Westminster chronicler who preceded Reading this was the second time that Litlington's influence at Court, though he was only a simple monk, had obtained the return of the vacation profits. In 1344, after the death of abbot Henley, he is said to have negotiated their purchase from queen Philippa, to whom the king had granted them. This seems, however, to be a mistake, but his success in 1349 was repeated through Philippa's interposition (above p. 88) on Langham's resignation and his own succession (Flete, p. 134). This court favour was

doubtless responsible for the report that Litlington was a natural son of Edward III, the existence of which Barnes in his history of that king (p. 910) 'would not dissemble,' though he goes on to express his disbelief of it. The alleged son must in fact have been nearly as old as his putative father.

It should be observed that the crown did not claim the whole revenues of the house during a vacancy in the abbacy. The abbot had an estate separate from that of the prior and convent, and in 1252 Henry III had granted by charter that the royal rights on such a vacancy should be confined to the abbot's portion. The misspelling of Bircheston's name in the paragraph under review, with the distorted form of Thomas de la Mare's name just below, is sufficient to show that the Cotton manuscript is not an original and the mistake would be strange at any time in a manuscript written at Westminster.

P. 109, l. 10. *Michaeli, abbati S. Albani* . . . This brief notice of the death of abbot Michael (12 April, 1349) and the succession of Thomas de la Mare may very well be the source of the similar entry in the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 181), which in its turn probably passed into the Chronicon Angliae (p. 28). It does not occur in any of the sequels of the Polychronicon known to have been used by the continuator. Curiously enough he places both the death of abbot Michael and that of abbot Bircheston under 1350 with a note: "quidam tamen affirmant quod isti duo abbates obierunt anno praecedenti." Is this a reference to Reading? The only explanation that occurs to me of the continuator's post-dating them a year (in which he was not followed by the Chronicon Angliae) is that he had in mind the fact that abbot de la Mare's election was not confirmed by the king until 22 November. For de la Mare's career see D.N.B., XXXVI, 129.

P. 109, l. 11. *Et erant . . . mortalitas absque tristitia,* etc. Reading's general reflections on the effects of the plague were passed over by the Latin chroniclers who used his work, but the writer of the Brut (p. 303) translates him pretty closely down to *remansit*, concluding with a version of his strange story of the missing teeth which may be quoted as a specimen of his English: "And in the same yere bygan a wonder thing that al that were born after that pestilens hadden ij chekteth in her heed lasse than they had afore." The translator prefixes a statement that the plague lasted in London from Michaelmas (1348) to the following August, a confirmation hitherto unnoticed of the date given by the Bermondsey Annalist (*Ann. Monastici* (Rolls Ser.), III, 475)

and Geoffrey le Baker (*Chron.*, p. 98) for the breaking out of the disease in the capital.

Reading's excessively high estimate of the mortality caused by the plague also appears in the A. continuation of the Polychronicon (ed. Lumby, VIII, 355), but it is hardly necessary to suppose that John Malvern its author took the estimate direct from the Westminster chronicler.

In his remarks upon the bad effects of the accumulation of wealth in fewer hands, which was one of the results of the mortality, Reading is especially severe upon the Friars for whom he had a strong dislike which finds expression in other passages (cf. above pp. 109, 119, 128, 131).

P. 110, l. 14. *Annus jubilaei.* It is an interesting speculation whether the writer, in setting down these bitter reflections on the unregenerate character of many who flocked to Rome to gain the great indulgences offered to visitors during the year of Jubilee, had at all in mind the case of Benedict de Chertsey prior of his own house. Benedict being sent to Avignon on business of the abbey in the summer of this year, stole away to Rome without leave, and aggravated his offence by disguising himself as a layman. He was accused of having secretly pawned goods belonging to the abbey for this or other purposes, and paid the penalty of his misconduct by losing his office (Armitage Robinson, 'Simon Langham,' *Church Quarterly Review*, LXVI, 345).

P. 111, l. 5. *In mari juxta Winchelse.* For his account of the naval battle with the Spaniards off Winchelsea on 29 August, 1350, Reading seems to have depended mainly upon Avesbury (p. 412). They agree, for instance, against Baker and Knighton in placing the attack upon the English wine fleet in the previous year, though Reading omits the statement that it occurred in the Gironde about 1 November; there are also significant similarities of wording. Reading on the other hand is the only English chronicler (save his Brut translator) who notices the lashing together of the English and Spanish ships mentioned by Froissart, and some verbal coincidences with the king's letter addressed on 10 August to the archbishop of Canterbury, asking for public prayers in view of the threatened Spanish invasion (*Foedera,* III, 202), might suggest that the writer had it before him. His comments on the fierceness of the fighting and the fate of the Spaniards who refused to surrender are also not to be found in Avesbury. These passages again betray a close relation with that continuation of the Polychronicon (seen in Arundel MS. 86 and Addit. MS. 10,104) which

fills in the gaps in the ordinary Continuation and forms the groundwork of the printed Continuation of Murimuth. In the Introduction (above p. 54) the priority of Reading in such passages has been pointed out. A special difficulty in the present case is that the Murimuth Continuation is nearer to Reading in some respects than the Arundel and Additional MSS. The explanation may be that the continuator follows a somewhat fuller manuscript of the latter type. This fuller account is adopted with little more than verbal expansion in the St. Albans Chronicon Angliae (p. 28). The Brut's description of the battle (pp. 303-4) is clearly a compressed translation of Reading.

P. 112, l. 2. *Sanctum Thomam de Cantilupo.* Reading is guilty of a double chronological error here. Cantilupe the saintly bishop of Hereford (d. 1282) was canonized by pope John XXII in 1320, while his translation took place at Hereford on 25 October, 1349, not in 1350. The chronology of Baker (p. 102) and Knighton (II, 64) is loose here, but neither give support to so late a date as 1350, and both on the whole favour 1349 which seems to be confirmed by the king's presence at Hereford on 26 October in that year (*Cal. Close Rolls,* 1349-54, p. 138). Arundel MS. 86 and Addit. MS. 10,104 are here independent of Reading, recording the presence of the king, the prince of Wales and a great gathering of nobles and people at the ceremony. They seem to follow an entry in the A. continuation of the Polychronicon (ed. Lumby, VIII, 355) which supplies the day of the month, a detail which was likely to be known to its author Malvern, a monk of Worcester. The Continuation of Murimuth shortens this account, omitting e.g. the fact that the prince was there, and it is in this form that the passage appears in the Chronicon Angliae (p. 29). The Brut omits the incident.

P. 112, l. 8. *Duellum in palatio Westmonast.* The picturesque episode of the combat on 4 October, 1350, before Edward III, between Thomas de la Marche, a bastard of the royal house of France and John Visconti, a high officer and councillor of the king of Cyprus, who had accused him of dishonourable conduct, affords a striking illustration of the position Edward had won as arbiter of chivalry. Geoffrey le Baker in his long but rather inaccurate account of the incident (pp. 112-114) represents king John as resenting this recognition of his enemy and putting the bastard to death on his return. This allegation is completely disproved by record evidence that John contributed largely towards the expenses of his relative's journey to England with a great retinue (*Le Moyen Age,* 2e ser.,

VII (1903), pp. 295-7; cf. *Foedera,* III, 199). The bastard did not die until 1361. Baker's story of the origin of the quarrel between him and Visconti is equally wild. The true cause is given by Edward himself in his declaration dated 12 October that the combat, the course of which is briefly reviewed, had established the bastard's innocence of the offence imputed to him (*ibid.* III, 205). Visconti's charge was that, while serving in the army of Robert, king of Naples and Sicily in 1347 at the siege of Catania, which was held for the Aragonese, the bastard became aware of a plot of the citizens to seize the king and kill his chief justiciar, Henry de Clermont, but failed to reveal the design. After his failure Visconti returned to Cyprus, where this "specialist in calumny," as he has been called, was somewhat later executed by the king for libelling the queen. The probabilities therefore seem rather against the doubts, which Reading voices as to the justice of his defeat in 1350, being well-founded.

The exact relation of Thomas de la Marche (whom Reading, perhaps by confusion with his opponent, calls John) to the French royal house has been the subject of some controversy in France. In his *Thomas de la Marche, bâtard de France et ses aventures* (Paris, 1900) M. Marcellin Boudet accepted the statement made by two independent English chroniclers, Baker and the author of the Chronicon Angliae, that he was an illegitimate son of Philip of Valois and so half-brother of king John, advancing arguments in confirmation from French sources. Thomas' mother he suggested was Blanche of Burgundy, a lady of notoriously light character, when wife of Charles count of La Marche, afterwards (1322) king as Charles IV, and he identified him with a child whose birth about 1318 is mentioned by two chroniclers. This conclusion was strongly disputed by M. Gaston Paris (in the *Journal des Savants* (December, 1900, pp. 694-707)) who maintained that Thomas was more likely to have been a son of Charles de la Marche himself by some unknown lady, a view which has been accepted by M. Ch.-V. Langlois (Lavisse, *Hist. de France,* III, ii, 215). M. Boudet replied to his critics in two articles in Le Moyen Age (2e ser., V, 315-356; VII, 282-302). A third suggestion is made by M. H. Moranvillé (*Bibliothéque de l'Ecole des Chartes,* LXVI (1905), pp. 281-6). While rejecting the alleged paternity of Philip of Valois, he thinks that Thomas de la Marche's mother may have been Blanche of Burgundy, as Boudet holds. M. Moranvillé is inclined to identify Thomas with a child born in 1315 when Blanche was a prisoner, about nine months after the discovery of her adultery with Gauthier d'Aulnay.

M. Boudet was unaware of this notice of the duel in Reading,

who wrote not long after the event, or that it was the original source of the entry in the Chronicon Angliae compiled about 20 years later, but erroneously regarded by him as contemporary. Apart from evidence of date, the passage is perhaps the clearest proof we have of the priority of Reading where he has matter in common with the series of closely related manuscripts beginning with continuations of the Polychronicon and ending with the St. Albans compilations. For while their wording is very similar to his and they have the error in the bastard's christian name, they all turn Visconti from a knight of Cyprus (Cipres) into 'quendam militem de *Ipres*' (*Ypres*). It is easy to see that this mistake must have originated with a copyist. The Brut omits the duel.

P. 112, l. 13. *Venerunt . . . in Angliam poenitentes.* On the whole it is probable that this notice of the Flagellants is independent of Avesbury (p. 407) to whose account it adds the facts that they included nobles, wept as well as chanted, and had no papal license. The last is omitted in the clearly derivative passages in Addit. 10,104, f. 150, and the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 182), but was restored by the compiler of the Chronicon Angliae. All follow Reading in placing the coming of the Flagellants in 1350 instead of 1349 as in Avesbury. The entry is not translated in the Brut.

P. 112, l. 19. *Vacavit sedes Cantuariensis.* As in the case of the previous entry, the date is a year out. Bradwardine who was consecrated at Avignon on 19 July, 1349, died of the plague in London on the 26 August of that year. Islip his successor was provided by papal bull dated 7 October, and consecrated on 20 December. The repetition of the error in the brief entry given by the unprinted continuation of the Polychronicon and the compilations which used it seems to show that Reading was its original source. Bradwardine's worries at the greedy court of Avignon, on the dangerous journey home, and in getting possession of the temporalities of his see, which, Reading says, were thought to have hastened his death, are not elsewhere recorded. In view of the chronicler's implication that the new archbishop made the journey on foot, it is interesting to note that he landed at Dover on 19 August. The 'volumen' mentioned is Bradwardine's famous treatise De Causa Dei contra Pelagium et de virtute causarum ad suos Mertonenses libri tres, which is said to have been more commonly called Summa Doctoris Profundi in his own day (D.N.B., VI, 189). It was printed by Sir Henry Saville in 1618. The Brut omits this entry.

P. 113, l. 12. *Novam monetam operari procuravit.* The reduction of the standard of weight of the English coinage in June, 1351, was the most striking outcome of the currency policy of Edward III's government. Reading's interest in the novelty of silver four-penny and two-penny pieces (groats and half-groats) obscures the magnitude of the change. The standard of weight of the whole coinage, gold and silver, was suddenly and considerably lowered (Baker, p. 116; *Polychronicon,* VIII, 355; *Foedera,* III, 222-4; Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage* (1840), I, 226). In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries the standard silver penny weighed 22½ grains troy. This was the "vetus esterlingus" referred to by Reading, the derivation of the name of which from Easterlings, that is German merchants, or from the old Eastern kingdom of the Carolingians, the later Germany, is now scouted by scholars (Poole, *The Exchequer in the Twelfth Century,* p. 83).

Compared with this old standard the penny of 1351, reduced to 18 grains, was, as Reading says, lighter in weight by five shillings in the pound, that is to say, 25 shillings' worth of the new standard pennies were coined from a pound of silver. This precise estimate of the reduction (in part made before 1351) is peculiar among the chroniclers to Reading—and his translator in the Brut chronicle (p. 304). It was omitted by the continuators of the Polychronicon and of Murimuth, and though the compiler of the Chronicon Angliae (p. 29)—who is usually quoted for the change—expanded the account in the Continuation of Murimuth from Reading himself, he watered down this passage as follows : " Sed haec erant minoris ponderis quam correspondens summa sterlingorum."

Edward III's government is said to have been led to this rather drastic change of standard by the failure of its efforts to get rid of light money, clipped or counterfeit, which abounded, by administrative action. It " reduced the standard of the money issued toward the standard of the money in circulation" (Cunningham, *Growth of Industry and Commerce* (4th ed.), I, 328). It may not have been wholly indifferent, however, to the profit which it derived from the reduction.

Opinions differ as to the economic effects of this monetary revolution. Dr. Cunningham accepts Reading's view (from the *Chronicon Angliae*) that it brought about a rise of prices, a demand for higher wages and the statutes of Labourers, but, unlike the contemporary writer, he regards the enhanced prices due to changes in the coinage as a full justification of the labourers in asking for an increase of wages (*op. cit.* I, 335). Professor Ashley joins issue with him : " The chronicler does no more than echo the popular discontent at a novelty; the great plague of two years before and

its consequences are quite sufficient to account for increased prices" (*Economic History,* I, 215). However this may be, the Commons in the Parliaments of 1352 and 1353 petitioned for a return to the old standard (*Rot. Parl.,* II, 253).

Reading's rather obscure reference to bishop Edington's share in the change is perhaps a clumsy attempt to reprobate its results without condemning the treasurer, who had not been dead long (he d. 7 October, 1366) when this was written. Those who copied it at a much later date had no such scruples, and twisted Reading's awkwardly interposed eulogy into a direct charge of acting "ad magnam utilitatem regis non communitatis" (e.g. *Cont. Murim.,* p. 182; *Chron. Angl.,* p. 29).

If the legislative measures against the labourers said by Reading to have been passed from the 27th to the 39th year of the reign are, as seems probable, merely the two well-known statutes of Labourers of 1351 and 1361, both are incorrectly dated. The second date may be a case of scribal error, but the first cannot be so explained, for the provisions of the statute of 1351 are actually entered by Reading (with other measures of the same parliament) under the 27th year (1353; see above p. 117 and note below p. 254). Was it an uneasy feeling that legislation which he regarded as directed against evils produced by the coinage changes of 1351 could hardly have begun in that very year, which led him unconsciously to post-date it? Or did the mistake in the year of the statute suggest a false view of its cause? As a matter of fact the first statute of Labourers was passed early in 1351, some months before the issue of the new coinage. The St. Albans writers have the date of the second statute correctly (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 29; Wals., I, 276). They assign the first to the 28th year which must be merely a misreading of Reading's 27th, for they enter his summary of the statute under 1353. It is noteworthy, as bearing upon the relation of Reading's work to the chronicles which stand in close connexion with it, that as he happens to insert only the one entry under 1351, they each and all give the same entry and no other.

P. 114, l. 4. *Consilium apud Westmonasterium.* A Westminster writer was advantageously situated for noting the meetings of the royal council, but, as in this case, was often no better informed than the rest of the world as to what went on in them. The business discussed in this council, held after Easter (8 April), 1352, and kept so secret, may have had reference to the French invasion which was feared about this time (*Foedera,* III, 242-5).

P. 114, l. 6. *Civitatem Remensium in Britannia.* This association of the siege of Rennes by the duke of Lancaster between the

2 October, 1356, and 5 July, 1357 (Froissart, ed. Luce, V, xxii) with Sir Walter Bentley's victory at Mauron on 14 August, 1352, is the most extraordinary and inexplicable of Reading's anachronisms. The only suggestion we can offer by way of explanation is that he was hypnotised by the description of Mauron in Bentley's despatch (Avesbury, p. 416) as lying between Rennes and Ploërmel. It is a comparatively minor error to describe the besieger of Rennes, who had been duke of Lancaster from March, 1351, as earl of Derby, a title he had not held since 1345.

The story of the citizens' ingenious but unsuccessful attempt to save their valuables from the English by putting them in the coffin at a pretended funeral does not seem to be found elsewhere. The account of the alleged surrender however is in substantial agreement with that given by Knighton (II, 95-6), except that it omits the ransom of 100,000 crowns which the town agreed to pay to Lancaster According to the French chroniclers it did not surrender at all, though they admit that 60,000 crowns were paid to the duke to induce him to raise the siege (*Grandes Chroniques*, VI, 59). The place was in great straits and possibly the negotiations, if they did not issue in a full surrender, had gone further than the French cared to admit, when Edward III at last forced Lancaster to obey the truce of Bordeaux (23 March, 1357) and drop his prey (*Foedera*, III, 359).

P. 114, l. 17. *Juxta Mauron.* The brief account of Bentley's victory is almost certainly taken from Avesbury (pp. 415-6), for while most of the details come from the English commander's despatch which Reading might have seen elsewhere, the estimate of his army as comprising 300 men-at-arms and an equal number of archers is added by Avesbury himself. A French authority reverses the disproportion of the two armies, putting the total number of the English at 1,500 and the French 1,400 (*Chron. Normande*, ed. Molinier, pp. 105-6).

Reading's mistake in describing Gui de Nesle, the defeated general as seneschal, instead of marshal, of France, is corrected in the much briefer notice in the continuations of the Polychronicon and Murimuth, and so in the St. Albans compilations, which however were certainly expanded from Reading, as they retain his error of 100 for 500 as the number of the French esquires slain (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 30; Wals., I, 276). They introduce a further mistake by converting the figure for the knights and esquires taken prisoners, which he gives correctly as 160, into 140. For the tactical importance of the battle see Prof. Tout's article in Eng. Hist. Rev., XX, 729, and cf. Baker, p. 116.

P. 115, l. 27. *Haimo atte Hethe, Roffensis episcopus . . . dignitati suae renunciavit.* This is another example of Reading's careless chronology. Heath did indeed resign, but it was in 1349 (when he had held the see for thirty years) and the pope would not accept his resignation, so that he continued bishop of Rochester until his death on 4 May, 1352 (*Anglia Sacra,* I, 376; Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.,* II, 563). Reading has, as usual, misled his copyists. Here again the St. Albans compiler expands the continuator of Murimuth's brief excerpt from Reading by going to the original source, but does not reproduce his remark on Sheppey's share in bringing about the old bishop's resignation in his own favour. William de Dene, one of Heath's notaries public and his biographer, gives quite an opposite account of Sheppey's conduct on this occasion (*Hist. Roffensis* in *Anglia Sacra,* I, 376-7). Having formed a friendship with the count of Eu and the chamberlain of Tankerville while prisoners in England after the taking of Caen, he had acquired through them an influence with the pope and the king of France, from which he expected higher promotion than the poor see of Rochester which bishop Heath had voluntarily resigned 'ad opus ipsius Prioris.' Dene suggests rather than states that it was Sheppey who, to the indignation of all his friends, induced the pope to refuse his sanction to the resignation. It is not impossible that Dene was Reading's authority for the notice under discussion, though one would have hardly thought it probable that he could have put such a very different meaning upon his words, in spite of a certain obscurity in them, had not Mr. Kingsford apparently made exactly the same inference in his life of Sheppey in the Dictionary of National Biography (LII, 64).

P. 116, l. 8. *Ecclesias de Sabrichworth et Kilveden.* In 1330 pope John XXII, desiring to assist the monks of Westminster in rebuilding the abbey after the fire of 1298, consented to the appropriation of two churches in their gift, Sawbridgworth in Hertfordshire and Kelvedon *alias* Easterford in Essex, both in the diocese of London (Newcourt, *Repertorium Parochiale Londinense,* I, 867-8, II, 350; Flete, *Hist. of Westm. Abbey,* p. 117; *Church Quarterly Review,* LXVI (1908), 344). The king granted his license on 15 October, 1331, but the diocesan and other interested parties raised difficulties, and for twenty years the grant remained unexecuted.

The financial troubles of the house after the Black Death led to the sending of the prior, Benedict de Chertsey, in the summer of 1350 to obtain the enforcement of the appropriation from pope Clement VI. On his return from Rome, to which he had made

the unauthorised excursion mentioned in a previous note (above p. 245), he got a bull at Avignon confirming the appropriation. In the Westminster Munimenta (quoted by Armitage Robinson *ap.* Flete, p. 117) the bull is dated 5 May, 1351, i.e. in the *ninth* year of Clement (whose pontificate began on 19 May, 1342) not the *tenth* as asserted by Reading. It is natural to explain this discrepancy as one of the many inaccuracies of the chronicler, who was certainly mistaken in thinking that brother Benedict was at Avignon as late as 1352. There is, however, a document entered upon the Close Rolls under 12 December, 1351, which may show that Reading's date was not a mere careless transcription. It is an indenture by which the abbot and convent undertook to repay the 800 florins which prior Benedict had borrowed for his expenses, without asking their leave, on condition that the lenders secured the renewal of the pope's letters of appropriation. It is stipulated that "the date of the same should be made after the renunciation made by the proctor of the abbot and convent in the Roman Court upon disputes depending between the ordinaries of the places where the churches are situated and the abbot and convent" (*Cal. Close Rolls,* 1349-54, p. 405). This is not very clear but does seem to open up the possibility of a revised edition of Clement's bull dated in his 10th year.

P. 116, l. 16. *Vacavit sedes papalis.* With this entry Reading seems to begin to be used as a source by the Polychronicon, the (B) continuation of which starts here after a gap of four years, 1348-52 (ed. Lumby, VIII, 407). The continuator must however have had a fuller text before him, or made additions of his own, for Reading omits the date of Clement's death (6 December, 1352) and his additional description of the new pope as 'cardinalis presbyter' at the time of his election is not correct. Innocent had been presbyter cardinal of SS. John and Paul from 1342 to February, 1352, but at the latter date became cardinal bishop of Ostia. For a fuller discussion of the relation of Reading to the Polychronicon see Introd., p. 46. Arundel MS. 86, Addit. MS. 10,104, and the Cont. Murim. (p. 182) follow the Polychronicon closely.

P. 116, l. 22. *Caristia magna rerum venalium.* This brief notice also appears in the Polychronicon, where it immediately follows the entry of the papal vacancy. (See previous note.) Reading omits the statement that prices doubled in consequence of the scarcity and that sea and land began to be more barren than before. This is retained in Arund. MS. 86, Addit. MS. 10,104, and with more verbal change in Cont. Murim, (p. 182). The Brut which has

had no entry since the change of coinage is partly independent: 'And in the XXVII (*rectius* XXVI) yere of his regne was the grete derthe of vitailes, the wiche was clepid the dere somer' (ed. Brie, p. 304).

P. 116, l. 23. *Dux Selondiae duxit in uxorem filiam domini Henrici.* William count of Holland, Zealand and Hainault was son of the Emperor Lewis of Bavaria (d. 1347) by his second wife, Margaret of Hainault, sister of queen Philippa. The English chroniclers incorrectly apply his Bavarian title of duke to his inheritance from his mother. According to Baker (p. 120) Maud the elder daughter of Henry duke of Lancaster was married to William by king Edward during her father's absence in Prussia and Poland. Knighton (II, 69) confirms this, but attributes the match to queen Philippa. She was about thirteen years old but had already been the wife of Ralph de Stafford, eldest son of the earl of Stafford, who died in his father's lifetime. Her second husband became mad, as Reading states, about January, 1358, but lived until 1389. The alleged leprosy of his father is perhaps only a tale of his papalist enemies. The countess Maud died in 1362. Reading in this entry seems to be independent of any known sources. The marriage is not noticed in the Polychronicon and Continuation of Murimuth, but the St. Albans compilers have a brief note of it, doubtless from Reading (e.g. *Chron. Angl.*, p. 30).

P. 117, l. 4. *Parliamentum apud Westmonasterium.* Both the year and the month to which Reading assigns this parliament are wrong. The assembly in which Henry of Lancaster was created a duke and which passed the statute of Labourers met on 9 February, 1351, nor was there any parliament between 1343 and 1354 which was summoned for a date just after Easter. It is hard to say how Reading came to be guilty of such a glaring anachronism (see, however, a previous note, above p. 250, and Introd., p. 32).

P. 117, l. 5. *Henricus, comes nuper Lancastriae.* The patent of Henry of Lancaster's creation as duke records the assent of the prelates and nobles in parliament and his investiture by girding with the sword. The charter bears date 6 March, 1351 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,*, 1350-4, p. 60). For a second mention of his promotion see below, p. 255.

P. 117, l. 7. *Statuta populariuim.* The first of the three measures introduced with this heading is of course the well-known first statute of Labourers (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 233, § 47). The second reinforced a statute passed at Northampton in 1328 which pre-

scribed the length and width of cloths offered for sale (*ibid.* II, 231, § 42; *Stat. of Realm,* I, 260). The penalty for non-observance of the assize was forfeiture of the cloth. But two years later this was abandoned in the interests of foreign merchants, and a system of officially marking upon each piece of cloth its exact measurement was substituted (*ibid.* I, 330). The third statute referred to by Reading ordered the destruction of ' goites, molyns, estanks, estaches and kideux ' made in the reign of Edward I and since, which had interfered with the navigation of the great rivers of England (*Rot. Parl.,* II, 232, § 45). The author's complaint that these laws proved inoperative is one that is frequently heard about the statutes of fourteenth century parliaments. The whole passage (with the false date) is abbreviated by the St. Albans compiler (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 30; Wals., I. 276).

P. 117, l. 23. *Siccitas . . . caristiaque.* It seems possible that this entry also is post-dated, though only by a year. Reading has already noted a dearth in 1352 and that year was so dry, according to Knighton (II, 73), that cattle died in their pastures, and marshes afforded firm footing. Baker (p. 122) also speaks of a dearth in 1352, which it is hard not to identify with that in the text when he adds that the sufferings of the people were mitigated by corn brought from Zealand and Ireland. Neither Knighton nor Baker is immaculate in the matter of dates, but there is no obvious reason to distrust their accuracy in this instance, while the other events attributed to this year by Reading are certainly misdated. Curiously enough corn prices seem to have been higher in 1351 than in either 1352 or 1353 (Thorold Rogers, *Hist. of Agric. and Prices,* I, 209). It should be added that the early continuation of the Polychronicon (VIII, 408), followed by Arundel MS. 86, inserts under 1355 a drought the description of which sounds strangely like that under discussion.

The later Polychronicon continuation and the Continuation of Murimuth have the same entry with slight verbal differences, and they retain the (probably) incorrect date, as also does the Chronicon Angliae (p. 31) which conflates the wording of the Cont. Murim. with that of Reading. The Brut (p. 304) translates Reading's account, but, as usual, puts it a year later.

P. 118, l. 9. *Factus fuit dux Lancastriae.* This entry with its repetition of a fact already noticed, although now coupled with the promotion of Ralph lord Stafford to an earldom (3 March, 1351), and the apparent contradiction between the "in concilio" here and the "in parliamento" of the earlier entry, has rather the air of a passage borrowed from some other chronicle after Reading had set

down what he remembered or drew from Westminster records. It is one of the entries, reappearing in almost exactly the same words (and immediately after his previous entry) in later chroniclers, which raise a doubt whether they drew directly from Reading or from some source used by him. But no such source is actually known to exist and, as we have stated in the Introduction (above p. 54), there are other difficulties in accepting this hypothesis. The notice of the promotion of Lancaster and Stafford in the Scalacronica (Leland, *Collectanea,* I, 563) may be quite independent, but seems also to be misdated, and possibly points to the use of a common source by Gray and Reading.

P. 118, l. 13. *Concordatum fuit et juratum inter reges Angliae et Franciae.* Preliminaries of peace were thought to have been satisfactorily arranged at Guines in April, 1354 (*Foedera,* III, 276; *Rot. Parl.,* II, 264). But when the negotiations were reopened at Avignon in the autumn they soon broke down, and the attempts to convert the series of truces since 1347 into a peace being given up, hostilities were resumed in the summer of 1355. In England the responsibility for the breakdown of the negotiations was thrown upon the French, who were said to have gone back at Avignon upon what they had agreed to at Guines by insisting upon the retention of suzerainty over Aquîtaine and other territories which were to be ceded to Edward III (Avesbury, p. 421; Baker, pp. 123-4). On the other hand, a recent writer ascribes the fiasco to underhand negotiations at Avignon between Henry of Lancaster, the head of the English embassy, and Charles the Bad, King of Navarre, ending in a treaty for the partition of France (Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V,* I, 89 sqq.). It is not clearly made out, however, that the conclusion of this alliance did not follow the rupture of the peace negotiations.

Reading's account of these events is probably the source of that in the ordinary (B) continuation of the Polychronicon, for, though he omits the names of the English envoys, he has one sentence which points to Avesbury as his authority for the whole paragraph. See Introduction, pp. 27, 46.

The later chroniclers who seem sometimes to borrow from Reading, in this case clearly drew directly or indirectly from the Polychronicon. Arundel MS. 86, Addit. MS. 10,104, the Continuation of Murimuth and the Chronicon Angliae (p. 31) show in this order a gradually increasing departure from the wording of that source. The Brut (p. 304) translates Reading pretty closely.

P. 119, l. 3. *Stapulam . . . lanarum de Flandria . . . revocavit.* The date is a year too late as the recall of the staple was decided

upon in a great council which met on 23 September, 1353 (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 246; Baker, p. 122). The risk and loss entailed while the staple remained over-sea was expressed as the first reason for its removal to England, but Reading is completely wrong in connecting the step with the rupture of peace negotiations in 1354. His mistake may perhaps have arisen from the fact that the measure, being passed in a great council, was, strictly speaking, only an ordinance; and at the request of the commons was confirmed in the parliament of 1354 and ordered to be kept as a statute (*ibid.* pp. 253, 257). Of the oath said by Reading to have been sworn by the king, the Black Prince and others there seems to be no mention elsewhere.

Five of the staple towns established in England are omitted in the text: viz. York, Winchester, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, Exeter and Norwich. Hull does not appear in the original ordinance except as the port of landing for York. Staples were also set up at Carmarthen for Wales, and at Dublin, Waterford, Cork and Drogheda for Ireland. The Commons petitioned that Worcester, Nottingham, Boston, Stamford, Hull, Lynn and Ipswich should be added to the list but their prayer was not heard (*ibid.* p. 253). Yet Hull afterwards appears as an independent staple (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1360-4, p. 267). This entry (which is translated in the Brut (ed. Brie), p. 305) does not occur in any of the Polychronicon continuations. The continuator of Murimuth (p. 185) has a very brief note at the end of the year and the St. Albans chroniclers a rather longer one (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 32; Wals., I, 278), both apparently taken from Reading.

P. 119, l. 16. *Quidam fratres Minores . . . igne combusti.* In this case Reading by way of variety has ante-dated the burning by a year, as also does the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 184) followed by the Chronicon Angliae (p. 31), though the early (B) continuation of the Polychronicon (ed. Lumby, VIII, 408) places it among events of 1355 and this date is confirmed by Knighton (II, 82) who has a very full and independent account of the episode. The continuator of Murimuth evidently fell into the error by tacking on to the description of the rupture of the peace negotiations in 1354, which he took from the Polychronicon, its brief note of Edward's invasion of France in October, 1355, and transferring with it the entry under discussion which caught his eye a few lines lower down. Reading's mistake is less easy to explain. *Feria tertia* or Tuesday in Whitsuntide would in 1355 be 26 May. The printed text of the Polychronicon has *quarta* by an obvious error. The 'Friday in Wytsonwyk' of Trevisa's translation, which

represents an earlier form of this B. continuation, is more difficult to account for.

The "erroneous opinions," for which the friars suffered, consisted in their openly expressed contention that pope John XXII and his successors were heretics and excommunicate, and had no right or power to issue constitutions against the Franciscan tenet of absolute poverty such as the *Quorundam,* etc., decretal of John XXII, "in despectum paupertatis Jesu Christi et Sancti Francisci." The leading questions which the friars were required to answer are given by Knighton.

Reading is moved to indulge in a more than usually fierce outburst against the mendicants. For his strong feeling against them cf. pp. 109, 131 above and pp. 271, 274 below. The Brut omits the whole passage.

P. 119, l. 26. *Singulare certamen cum duce de Bruneswik.* Reading puts the duel at Paris between the duke of Lancaster and Otto duke of Brunswick two years too late, and as usual misleads the St. Albans compilers (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 32; Wals., I, 279). The incident took place in 1352 under which year it is narrated with considerable elaboration by Baker (p. 121-2) and Knighton (II, 69-73). There is also a brief notice in the Scalacronica (Leland, *Collectanea,* I, 563). Lancaster received the royal license to go to Paris on 23 August in that year and met Brunswick in the lists in December (*Foedera,* III, 248; Knighton, II, 71).

The account in the text also gives an inaccurate version of the cause of quarrel and an imperfect one of the issue of the duel. Lancaster did not accuse Brunswick, who was son of Henry II grand duke of Brunswick-Grubenhagen, of plundering his goods as he returned from the papal court of Avignon, but of a plot, which was not actually attempted, to seize him when travelling through Germany to the war in Prussia and hand him over to the king of France, in whose service Brunswick was enlisted. It is pretty clear that Reading went astray by associating the episode with Lancaster's presence as peace envoy at Avignon in the autumn of 1354. The statement that the affair was amicably settled without fighting is almost misleading if Baker and Knighton are right in their story that Brunswick, after taking the oath to the truth of his repudiation of Lancaster's charge, was seized with trembling, and quite unable to go on with the duel or, as Baker unkindly adds, pretending to be, out of cowardice, was induced to withdraw all imputations. Knighton adds that king John closed the incident with a banquet in which he effected a reconciliation between the two dukes. The appearance of a number of knights

who offered to defend in the lists Edward III's right to the French crown is an episode found only in Reading. It was omitted by the St. Albans compilers in copying the story from him. The Brut chronicler ignores the whole affair and it does not appear in any of the Polychronicon continuations or in the Continuation of Murimuth.

P. 120, l. 13. *Johannem . . . filio suo Karolo ducatum Aquitanniae contulisse*. The paragraph, in which Reading offers an explanation of the despatch of the Black Prince to Guienne in September, 1355, contains several characteristic errors. In the first place, there was no parliament in this year until November, and the great council which Reading evidently had in mind, in which the offer of mediation brought by papal envoys was rejected and the Prince of Wales' expedition to Guienne was decided upon, met not "after Whitsuntide" (24 May), but after Easter (5 April) and before the 27 April, when ships were ordered to be brought to Southampton by 11 June, for the prince's conveyance to Gascony (Avesb., p. 423-4; *Foedera,* III, 298). In fairness, we must add that Knighton (II, 79) has the same date as Reading, whom he is not known to have used. It is noteworthy that the compiler of the Chronicon Angliae (p. 32), while borrowing the passage from Reading, substituted *consilium* for *parliamentum*, and whether by accident or design omitted the false date.

A second and much less excusable error is the assertion that Edward was provoked to wrath by news that king John had created his eldest son Charles duke of Aquitaine. Charles had received a grant of the county of Poitiers not later than the beginning of 1354, in exchange for which he was given the duchy of Normandy on 7 December, 1355, but even this latter grant was subsequent to the council in question (Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V,* I, 94, 119).

It is equally untrue, in the third place, that Edward in that council invested his son and heir with the duchy of Aquitaine. The prince was sent out simply as lieutenant of the king in the duchy, and it was not until 1362 that a principality of Aquitaine was conferred upon him. Both the two mistakes last-mentioned were copied without question by the St. Albans compilers (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 32; Wals., I, 279).

Hardly less misleading is Reading's clumsily-worded preface, which taken literally can only mean that Edward III did not hear of the death of Philip of Valois and the coronation of John until five years after these events happened. The continuator of Murimuth (p. 185) actually allowed himself to be led by it into

the remarkable assertion that Philip died in 1355! This indeed is the clearest proof that he used Reading at first hand, for the late continuation of the Polychronicon, which generally serves him as a basis, is without this preface. It is too much in keeping with the Westminster chronicler's style to have been borrowed from any other work which might have been in the hands of the continuator. Reading in fact must have the credit (or discredit) of the whole passage, which is fully translated in the Brut (ed. Brie, p. 305).

P. 120, l. 22. *loca sanctorum in Anglia visitavit.* The tour of the holy places of England by the king and the Black Prince before the prince's departure for Gascony, and Edward III's gift of no less a relic than the head of St. Benedict to Westminster Abbey are facts peculiar to Reading and the St. Albans compilers (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 32; Wals., I, 279), who borrowed them from him. They afford another illustration of the dangers of Reading's congested sentences, the hurried copyist taking the date of the gift of St. Benedict's head (30 June) as that of the prince's setting sail, though a few lines below he transcribes the real date (8 September) of that event. Reading's translator fell into the same trap (*Brut*, p. 305). The date of Edward's gift is borrowed by Flete (p. 72) in his inventory of the Westminster relics: "dominus rex *Edwardus tertius* flos totius militiae Christianae, obtulit sancto Edwardo caput beati Benedicti abbatis ii kalendas Julii, anno domini mccclv°." It is quite wrong however, for the relic was not presented until 5 July, 1358 (*Foedera*, III, 398). Flete adds later (p. 75) that visitors to this relic became entitled to an indulgence of 11 years and 30 days.

P. 121, l. 2. *In nativitate beatae Mariae . . . velificare coepit.* Reading's source here seems to be Avesbury (p. 424), though he halves the number of archers, and omits Avesbury's remark that these figures, which were those originally fixed, were largely exceeded in the end. The date (8 September) is also Avesbury's and agrees with that in the Polychronicon (VIII, 408), but Baker gives the morrow of the Nativity (9 September) and is said to be corroborated by a letter of the prince to the prior of Christ Church, Canterbury (Baker, p. 127; Moisant, *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine*, p. 31).

P. 121, l. 7. *Decimo die Octobris . . . equitare incepit.* This account of the Black Prince's landing in Gascony (which was before 20 September—Moisant, *op. cit.* p. 31), and his raid into Languedoc with its sequel, is mainly based upon the narrative of Avesbury (pp. 432 sqq.) and the letters of the prince and Sir John

Wingfield which he incorporates. Reading must, however, have had some other source for the date of the beginning of the raid (10 October), though it is but an approximate one. The army left Bordeaux on Monday, October 6th, but until Saturday, the 10th, marched through subject or friendly territory and was only arrayed in 'battles' on Sunday, the 11th, when approaching the enemy's country (Baker, pp. 128-9).

The continuator of Murimuth may have used Reading as they have some coincidences of phrasing, but his entry is too brief for certainty. On the other hand the St. Albans compilers take their account bodily from our chronicler, only omitting his allusion to the prince's absorption in religious duties as a reason for his not sharing in the frontier operations which followed the raid. This by the way Reading did not find in Avesbury.

P. 121, l. 20. *dominus rex Angliae . . . in Franciam transfretavit.* Edward who had originally contemplated a descent upon Normandy, which was frustrated by contrary winds and Charles of Navarre's reconciliation with king John, marched out of Calais on Monday, 2 November, and returned thither from his unsuccessful pursuit of the enemy as far as Hesdin on Wednesday, 11 November (Avesb., pp. 428-9). While following hard upon the heels of the French from St. Omer, the English are said to have slept for three nights in the camps which the enemy had occupied twenty-four hours before (Baker, p. 126). For commissariat reasons Edward returned to Calais by a route which took him near Boulogne (Avesb., p. 429).

Reading's main if not sole source for this campaign was Avesbury, who however does not state that king John had expressly undertaken to await Edward at St. Omer. The Continuation of Murimuth (p. 186) gives a short account based upon Avesbury with a few touches which seem to betray a subsidiary use of Reading. The St. Albans compilers construct a mosaic from the Continuation and Reading, with perhaps a reference to Avesbury at one point (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 33; Wals., I, 280). A full translation of Reading is in the Brut (ed. Brie, p. 306).

P. 122, l. 9. *Scoti villam de Berwik . . . ceperunt.* The town of Berwick was surprised by the Scots under Thomas Stewart, earl of Angus, at dawn on 6 November (Avesb., p. 431). Baker adds (p. 126) that its governor the baron of Greystoke was absent without leave in the king's army. Avesbury is Reading's source, except for the statement that the news brought Edward III back to England, which may have passed from Reading into (B) continuation of the Polychronicon (ed. Lumby, VIII, 408). It is

found also in Baker (p. 126) and Knighton (p. 84). Sir Walter Manny told parliament on 25 November that news of the capture had reached the king "all hot" (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 265). Edward remained at Calais until at least 17 November (Avesb., p. 431), but he was back in England for the opening of parliament on 23 November.

The notice in the Continuation of Murimuth (p 186) seems to be taken from Reading, from whom it is slightly expanded in the St. Albans chronicle (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 34; Wals., I, 280). A translation of Reading is in the Brut (p. 306).

P. 122, l. 13. *in quodam parliamento.* Parliament met on Monday, 23 November (not 24th as stated by Stubbs, *Const. Hist.* (2nd ed.), II, 405). Reading seems to use Avesbury (*u.s.*), but mentions expressly that the renewal of the wool subsidy was intended to meet the situation created by the loss of Berwick as well as the expenses of the war in France (cf. *Rot. Parl.*, II, 264-5). The passage (=*Brut*, p. 306) perhaps passed through the Continuation of Murimuth into the Chronicon Angliae.

P. 122, l. 18. *Apud Wodestok nascitur eidem . . . Thomas.* Thomas of Woodstock was born 7 January, 1354-5; his godfather was Thomas Hatfield, bishop of Durham (Avesb., p. 422). From Reading this entry probably passed into the early continuation of the Polychronicon. As printed it reads '*iiii* idus Januarii' but the oldest MSS. (Harl. 3,671, f. 214b; cf. Arundel, 86, f. 121b) have Reading's date. The continuator of Murimuth (p. 186) followed by the Chronicon Angliae might possibly have taken the notice direct from this source, but as he gives it after the same entry as Reading while in the Polychronicon it comes at the beginning of the year, it is more likely that the Westminster chronicler was his authority. The Brut chronicle passes over this entry.

P. 122, l. 24. *villa* (*de Berwick*) *redditur.* Reading's date for the surrender is clear proof of his use of Avesbury here. What Avesbury really says (p. 450) is that Edward reached Berwick on 13 January and next morning (*mane facto*) the Scots begged an interview with him in which a capitulation was arranged, the town being apparently evacuated the same day. Reading however carelessly took the date of the king's arrival for the day of the surrender and so misled later writers, even when they had access to Avesbury's own correct version (e.g. *Cont. Murim.*, p. 186; *Chron. Angl.*, p. 34). A further error has been introduced more recently by a misprint of 24th for 14th in the margin of the Rolls edition of Avesbury, which his editor has copied into a note in his

edition of Geoffrey le Baker (p. 291). Baker indeed speaks of Edward receiving the surrender "within a fortnight" (p. 126) but this statement cannot be reconciled with Avesbury's, which is supported by the fact that on 20 January Edward Balliol at Roxburgh ceded the kingdom of Scotland to Edward III (*Foedera,* III, 317-21). Reading's mistake in Balliol's christian name is corrected by the continuator of Murimuth and by the St. Albans compilers but retained by the Brut translator (p. 307).

The remark about the fate of English stragglers is misplaced if derived from Avesbury, who refers the incident to the march to Edinburgh and back which followed the cession of the crown (p. 455). Reading also varies from Avesbury in asserting a formal coronation of Edward III at Roxburgh.

P. 123, l. 25. *Sexto die Julii a Burdegallia se movebat.* Avesbury being no longer available, except for a list of the casualties of the Poitiers campaign (pp. 469-71), which may not, however, have been appended until after our chronicler's time, Reading's main sources have to be looked for elsewhere. The date of the prince's departure from Bordeaux no doubt comes directly or indirectly from his letter to the bishop of Worcester (*Archaeologia,* vol. I, No. XLIV, p. 213; Harris Nicolas, *Chronicle of London,* p. 206). From Reading it passed into the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 187) and the St. Albans compilation (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 34) but its presence with some other common details in the Scalacronica of Sir Thomas Gray (Leland, *Collectanea,* I, 566 sqq.), which is otherwise independent of the Westminster writer, seems to point to their having used the same source for part at least of their accounts of the campaign.

The statement that king John was put on his guard by the count of Armagnac originates, as far as we know, with our chronicler, but the count's activity in the French interest after the expedition started is well attested (Baker, p. 140; Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V,* I, 192).

P. 124, l. 1. *Captivavitque itinerando . . . plures quam sex millia hominum armatorum.* This estimate of the number of men-at-arms taken prisoners on the march to Poitiers, which was copied into the Continuation of Murimuth and the St. Albans chronicle, is of course quite incredible. Reading himself gives further on a considerably lower figure for the killed and prisoners in the whole campaign, including the battle. A possible explanation is that Reading carelessly read VI^{M} for VI^{xx} (120) in the last line of the list of French casualties appended to Avesbury's

chronicle (p. 471): "Item en venant vers Romerantyn estoient pris de Fraunceis entour vj^{xx} hommes darmes," or (less probably) in the sentence of lord Burghersh's letter to Sir John Beauchamp (Chandos Herald, ed. Michel, p. 337) from which this was perhaps taken.

P. 124, l. 4. *Castrum* (of Romorantin) *obsedit . . . sex diebus.* This statement is not quite exact. The prince seems to have reached Romorantin on the evening of Monday, 29 August, the town was captured on the 31st, but the castle known as le Dongoun held out until 3 September (*Eulogium,* III, 219-220). Consequently the separate siege of the castle lasted no more than three or (inclusively) four days, but Reading loosely gives a figure which includes the previous investment of the town. As the siege began on the 30 August its actual duration was *five* days (Prince's letter to corporation of London in Nicolas, *Chron. of London,* p. 204; cf. Baker, p. 141). Burghersh in his letter to Sir John Beauchamp extends it to eight days by including the whole period of the prince's stay at Romorantin from Monday, 29 August, to Monday, 5 September (Chandos Herald, ed. Michel, p. 337; Delachenal, *Hist. of Charles V*, I, 201).

P. 124, l. 8. *Prope La Chaveney . . . conflictum.* King John by a rapid march had reached Chauvigny on the Vienne on Thursday, 15 September, with Poitiers as his objective. Hearing of this, the Black Prince who was at Châtellerault lower down the Vienne, left it on the Friday night, in the hope of preventing the French from crossing the river. He was too late for this, but at La Chaboterie, three leagues from Chauvigny on the road to Poitiers and rather more than two miles from that town, his vanguard encountered a laggard French division and captured its leaders (Delachenal, *op. cit.* I, 205-9). Reading's *La* Chaveney seems to represent a confusion between La Chaboterie and Chauvigny. He is correct in stating that the action was fought by the Anglo-Gascon *proceres,* not by the prince who was behind, and he is alone among the English authorities (except the prince's letter to London) in avoiding the error that the third personage captured with the counts of Auxerre and Joigny was Gérard de Thurey, marshal of Burgundy, a mistake which probably originated with Burghersh (Chandos Herald, ed. Michel, p. 337). The actual prisoner was Jean de Châtillon-sur-Marne, grand maître de l'Hôtel du Roi (Delachenal, *op. cit.* I, 207) whom Reading calls 'senescallus Franciae.' On the whole then, he seems to be following a source of some precision. His estimate of the French loss in men-at-arms as 100

killed and 100 taken differs from that found in Burghersh's letter, Avesbury, and Knighton (II, 92) viz. 240 slain and captured. The Scalacronica gives the number of prisoners as 100, but has no figure for the killed.

P. 124, l. 14. *Cum mille nongentis hominibus ad arma* [? *totidemque*] *circiter sagittariis* The number of archers is omitted in the MS. where a blank is left, but the St. Albans copyist reads 'totidemque' (omitting 'circiter'). The Brut has 1,900 "men of armes and archers" (p. 308) which seems to offer a further proof that, if not using the Cotton MS. itself, the translator had before him one of the same type.

Reading's estimate of the English numbers, with which Sir Thomas Gray agrees as regards the men-at-arms, but gives the archers as 1,500 only (*Scalacronica,* Maitland Club, p. 175), is with this exception and Knighton's (II, 93 : 1,800 men-at-arms, 1,400 archers) the lowest of the many varying figures offered by the French and English authorities. None of these, however, include the *servientes* who appear in the higher estimates. The addition of these practically brings Reading's figure up to the Canterbury chronicler's 5,000 (above p. 196). The next lowest is 6,000 (including 1,000 *servientes*) which seems to have originated with Burghersh (Chandos Herald, ed. Michel, p. 338), and having been adopted by John Malvern in his continuation of the Polychronicon (ed. Lumby, VIII, 357) was copied from him by the continuator of Murimuth (p. 187). Baker's estimate (p. 143) is 7,000, more than half of whom were men-at-arms, and the French figures vary from 7,000 to 8,000. But if Reading probably underestimates the Anglo-Gascon forces he does not supply such exaggerated figures for the French army as Malvern (30,000) and Knighton (40,000), not to mention Froissart (60,000 to 70,000). His estimate of 7,000 fully equipped men-at-arms is more conservative than that of Burghersh, Baker and Gray who agree upon 8,000. Burghersh puts the number of footmen at 3,000.

P. 124, l. 19. *De quibus ceciderunt,* etc. Reading gives a fuller list of the dead later, at the end of which he silently corrects his figure for the knights and men-at-arms from 1,000 to 2,000, thus bringing his summary, with one exception, into exact accordance with that found in Burghersh's letter and in the list appended to Avesbury's chronicle, which seems to represent the ' verus compotus' referred to by our author. The exception in question is the estimate of 22 nobles slain in addition to the three mentioned by name. None of the lists furnished by our authorities contain exactly 25 names. But it is perhaps worth noting that the

Avesbury appendix enumerates (p. 469) precisely 22, *including* the three specified by Reading, if we adopt Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's conjecture that Mounsire Geoffray Charny and le sire de Mathas were one and the same person, an hypothesis for which there is a good deal to be said (G. le Baker, p. 276 (note)). It is possible that Reading after counting the names in a list of this type named three, and then carelessly applied the total to the remainder. He does not seem however to have used Avesbury's list in the form in which we have it, for his misspellings of the French names, which are often only less appalling than Knighton's (II, 90-2), show more affinity to the forms given by Baker (p. 155; e.g. Danboide (=d'Amboise) where Avesbury apparently has Valoyse), and he supplies two or three names, not in every case easily identified, which do not appear in Avesbury. The sire de Balingham is an instance among the slain, and Reading seems to be alone in including the brother of the sire de Beaujeu. For fuller identifications of the names in general we must refer the reader to Sir Edward Maunde Thompson's notes to Baker (pp. 313-4) and those of M. Luce in his edition of Froissart (V, xiii).

P. 126, l. 6. *Captivatis in sacramento . . . oneratis et ad propria . . . dimissis.* Reading's statement is supported by Froissart (V, 60) who attributes the step to the great number of the prisoners, which made it inadvisable to take them to Bordeaux. Baker (p. 155) was unaware of this.

P. 126, l. 12. *Summa totalis . . . captivorum ac mortuorum.* The total French casualties of the whole campaign, thus roughly calculated, are attributed by the Brut translator (ed. Brie, p. 308) to the battle alone. The account of the campaign in the St. Albans chronicle (*Chron. Angl.*, pp. 34-6) is largely drawn from Reading from whom, for instance, its low estimate of the English numbers is taken. Its compilers however worked in material from other sources especially, it would seem, the Continuation of Murimuth which is here itself a mosaic, drawn from Reading and the two printed continuations of the Polychronicon.

P. 126, l. 19. *Relaxatur interdictum Oxoniae.* The date given by Reading may be that of one of the steps in negotiations which are known to have taken some time, possibly of a provisional raising of the interdict, but the document in which bishop Gynwell finally settled the conditions of its removal bears date 7 June, 1357 (*Munimenta Academica*, Rolls Series, p. 200). The citizens bound themselves to attend an annual commemoration service in the university church on St. Scholastica's Day (10 February), the

anniversary of the famous town-and-gown riot, which had brought down upon them the heavy hand of the king as well as the ecclesiastical interdict. The "clericide and sacrilege" in question were perpetrated two years before, in 1355, not in 1356 as Reading asserts. A persistent tradition has indeed run into the opposite error, and protracted the duration of the interdict to three years. Owing to the confusion created by the old style of commencing the legal year on 25 March, mediæval chroniclers and modern writers, with apparently the single exception of Holinshed, have unanimously assigned the St. Scholastica 'Slaughter' to 1354. Thus Mr. Rashdall, though quoting official documents of May-June 29 Edward III (i.e. 1355) which imply that the riot occurred in the preceding February, repeats the old error with a circumstance by dating the event in February $135\frac{3}{4}$ (*Universities of Europe,* II, 403). Thorold Rogers, who printed some of the more important of these documents in his Oxford City Documents (Oxford Hist. Soc., pp. 245-267), quoted from Twyne the date of the imposition of the interdict by the bishop of Lincoln, "2 Idus Mart. 1354 and 8th (year) of his consecration," which as Gynwell was consecrated on 23 September, 1347, could only be 14 March, 1355, without disturbing his faith in the received date of the riot. Two centuries earlier, Anthony Wood relating the story in his Annals of the University of Oxford (I, 455) specified that the fatal 10 February was a Tuesday, but remained unaware that the 10th fell on Tuesday in 1355 but not in 1354.

The paragraph which has led to this digression was copied *verbatim et litteratim* by the St. Albans compiler (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 38). In the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 191) it is shortened and the wording somewhat altered.

P. 126, l. 23. *Princeps Edwardus . . . in portu de Plummouth applicuit.* Knighton (II, 93) agrees with Reading that the Black Prince (who had left Gascony with his royal captive on 11 April) landed at Plymouth on 5 May and reached London on Wednesday, the 24th of that month. The 5th is also given as the day of his arrival in England by the continuator of Murimuth (p. 190) and the St. Albans chronicler (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 37), but Reading was undoubtedly their source. The continuator awkwardly combines the precise date with the rough indication of time supplied in the continuation of the Polychronicon (VIII, 357, 409), viz. that the prince returned from Gascony about Whitsuntide (28 May). A date two days earlier (3 May) is given in the Canterbury chronicle (above p. 204) while a French authority places the disembarcation on the 4th (*Grandes Chroniques,* VI, 58; Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V,* II, 54).

P. 126, l. 26. *xxiiii die mensis ejusdem . . . Londoniarum civitatem ingressi.* This description of the prince's triumphal procession with his prisoner from London to Westminster has been made familiar by the St. Albans compiler who borrowed it almost verbally from Reading (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 37; Wals., I, 283). Knighton (II, 93) adds one or two details, but by far the fullest account of the day's proceedings is that of the Canterbury chronicler (above p. 205) who states that the procession did not reach the palace until the hour of vespers. Reading's relation is translated in the Brut (p. 308), but omitted by the continuator of Murimuth.

P. 127, l. 5. *Venerunt duo cardinales vi die Julii.* Elie Talleyrand de Périgord, cardinal bishop of Albano and Nicholas Capocci, bishop of Urgel and cardinal priest of St. Vitale had presided over the negotiations which issued in the truce of Bordeaux on 23 March, 1357, and in some sort of agreement upon a possible basis for a final peace. After the removal of king John to England the pope lost no time in sending the two cardinals, though rather an ill-matched pair, to London to complete their work (Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V*, II, 52-5). They were expected to arrive about 24 June, and if Knighton (II, 94) may be believed, one of them (he does not say which) made his appearance in hot haste on the 19th to protest against the siege of Rennes, which the duke of Lancaster was still carrying on in defiance of the truce. Reading however alleges that both arrived on the 6 July and the Canterbury writer (above p. 207) agrees that they made their entry together but places it three days earlier. The date was omitted by the St. Albans compiler in his borrowings from this passage. Our author on the other hand is silent about the coming of a third cardinal, Pierre de la Forêt, archbishop of Rouen and chancellor of king John until the previous year, when he was made cardinal priest of the church of the Twelve Apostles. The sequels of the Polychronicon from which the fact of his visit passed into the St. Albans chronicle (p. 37), probably through the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 190), represent it as a personal one to his old master (*Polychron.*, ed. Lumby, VIII, 357, 409). But as a matter of fact, the cardinal of Rouen, who had been one of the French negotiators at Bordeaux, was formally accredited to Edward III by pope Innocent, with a view to his participation in the renewed discussions (Delachenal, *op. cit.* II, 55). For an interesting account of his visit see the Canterbury chronicle (above p. 206).

The mission of the cardinals, though impeded at first by Edward III's insistence on his claim to the French crown, and ultimately unsuccessful as Reading says, seemed for a time in the summer of

the following year to have brought about a satisfactory peace. This fell through for reasons which will be mentioned later (see below p. 271), and at the end of September, 1358, the cardinals in despair at last quitted England (Delachenal, II, 77). The original continuation of the Polychronicon is well within the mark in stating that they stayed "per annum plene" (*Polychr.*, VIII, 409; where however the words 'per annum' have dropped out in the printed text). Malvern in his continuation prolonged their sojourn to two years (*ibid.* p. 357), an exaggeration which passed into the Continuation of Murimuth and the St. Albans chronicles. To the clergy, at least to those who could not, like abbot Langham, bring influence to bear upon the papal legates, their residence was so burdensome that it might well have seemed more protracted than it really was. Twice they levied a 'procuration' of 4d. in the mark on all ecclesiastical revenue, the proceeds of which were, popular rumour insisted, devoted by the pope to the support of the French king instead of to the payment of the expenses of the mission (Knighton, II, 95, 98).

Reading's sly hit at Langham shows that, though quite alive to the merits of his abbot (above p. 108), he was not blind to his weak points. Langham was a hard, stern man, and was apparently more respected than beloved by his monks as he was said to have been afterwards by his diocese of Ely, whose feelings on his translation to Canterbury were expressed with some exaggeration in the well-known epigram :

"Exultent coeli, quia Simon transit ab Ely;
Cujus in adventum flent in Kent millia centum."

P. 127, l. 27. *Qui se nominarunt Magnam Societatem.* The scourge of the Companies was first let loose upon France in 1357 by the truce of Bordeaux and the civil war between the Dauphin and the supporters of Charles of Navarre, but Reading's notice of them, which is the source of the paragraphs in the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 190) and the Chronicon Angliae (p. 37), is probably coloured by his knowledge of the wider extension of their ravages after the Treaty of Brétigny in 1360. It was not until then that the name 'Great Society' or 'Great Company' became famous or rather infamous, though Denifle notes that the company of Arnaud de Cervole, the Archpriest, who ravaged Provence in 1357-8 is described in a letter of pope Innocent, dated 23 October 1358, as "magna societas armigerarum gentium" (*La Désolation des Eglises, etc., pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans,* II, i, 209). From 1360 the name was applied to, or assumed by temporary aggregations of companies or the larger companies themselves (*ibid.*

p. 380). It is strictly a mistake to speak, as Reading does, of a single Great Company though the French chroniclers seem sometimes to share it, as in the passage quoted by Denifle from the Contin. de R. Lescot (p. 149) : "Hii scelerati homines ex diversis nationibus mutuo adunati et se Magnam Concionem vel societatem nominantes." To this wide use of the term must be traced Reading's assertion that they had no leader, which his copyists twisted into a statement that "Gens Sine Capite" was a name actually given to them. Cf. Delachenal, II, 315.

P. 128, l. 5. *Orta tempestate.* Whence the passage in Chron. Angl., p. 37.

P. 128, l. 7. *David rex Scotiae . . . liberatur.* The treaty for David's release was concluded at Berwick on 3 October, 1357, and ratified by David there two days later and at Scone on 6 November (*Foedera,* III, 372, 382; cf. Knighton, II, 98). Reading's wording seems to imply that the king had been continuously imprisoned at Odiham in Hampshire since 1346. This, of course, was not the case. He was sometimes at the Tower of London, and at least three times (1351, 1352, 1354) at Newcastle (*Foedera,* III, 234, 241, 288). On the first and third occasions there were earlier negotiations for his release, on the second he was allowed to visit Scotland.

The wording of this passage in Reading is so similar to that of the corresponding entry in the ordinary continuation of the Polychronicon (VIII, 409) that they can hardly be independent. Reading's is the fuller of the two and doubtless the original. The indebtedness of the St. Albans compiler to him is obvious (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 37; Wals., I, 284).

P. 128, l. 13. *Concessum . . . Johanni regi . . . solvere . . . sex centena millia florenorum.* This is a misplaced and not wholly correct reference to the convention concluded on 8 May, 1358, which M. Delachenal, who discovered its text in Cotton MS. Caligula D., III, Nos. 84-88, calls the First Treaty of London (*Hist. de Charles V,* II, 62 sqq.). Reading might be taken to imply that John's entire ransom was fixed at 600,000 gold florins (=£100,000, the florin being taken as equivalent to 3s. 4d.). This however was only a first payment which was to be made before the 1 November (not the 11th as in our text), as a condition of the king's provisional release. The whole ransom to be paid was 4,000,000 gold florins, a million more than was stipulated for two years later, though in other respects the terms of the First Treaty of London closely anticipated those of the Treaty of Brétigny. Curiously

enough the author of the Brut chronicle, ceasing for once to translate from Reading, substitutes a statement that the ransom was to be 3,000,000 crowns or florins (p. 308). Both he and the St. Albans compiler, who copies Reading, but adds from some other source that the treaty was made on 2 (*rectius* 8) May, have been misled by him as to the year of the treaty. The coming of the papal legates in July, 1357, and possibly the influence of the previous paragraph on the ransom of David Bruce, will probably account for the mistake. The monk of Canterbury is the only English chronicler who gives the exact date, and, though not correct in all its details, his is the fullest contemporary account of the treaty (above p. 208). The suggestion that the treaty broke down on the question of hostages (cf. Knighton, II, 100) is contrary to the facts. Non-payment of the first instalment of the ransom at the time prescribed afforded the formal ground for breaking-off the negotiations, though the strained relations between Edward III and the papal mediator may have been the real one (Delachenal, *op. cit.* pp. 73-6).

Reading's statement that the French were told on 20 November to prepare for war is not found in any independent chronicle, but it is perhaps worth noting that a royal writ of that date ordered the warden of the Cinque Ports and the mayor and bailiffs of Sandwich and Margate to prevent all persons leaving the realm (*Foedera,* III, 411). Shortly afterwards John was placed under stricter custody.

P. 128, l. 22. *Defuncta domina Isabella, dudum regina.* This entry, like the previous one, is a year too early and the day of the month of Isabella's death (27 August) is probably incorrect. The author of the Eulogium Historiarum (III, 227), who wrote not later than 1367, gives the date as 22 August, 1358, and this is confirmed by Cotton MS., Galba E, XIV, f. 24 (quoted by Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V,* II, p. 77; cf. *Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1358-61, p. 97). Some modern writers place the event on 23 August, but on what authority is not clear. The 26 August of the continuator of Murimuth (p. 191) is no doubt a misreading of the date given in Reading, who has misled both the continuator and the St. Albans chronicler (p. 38) with regard to the year.

Isabella's preference of the spacious new church of the Franciscans at Newgate to Westminster Abbey as the place of her burial rouses all Reading's gall. His bitter dislike of the Friars is evident here as elsewhere (see above p. 119). The church was however largely the work of her predecessor, Margaret wife of Edward I who lay buried there, and Isabella herself gave £10

towards the expenses of its erection (Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. Kingsford, I, 317). Begun in 1306 and completed in 1337, it was dedicated according to Stow in 1325—which makes it difficult to understand Reading's sneer that it was still undedicated when queen Isabella was laid to rest there in 1358.

P. 129, l. 5. *Hastiludia solempnia in Smythfelde.* Source of Chronicon Angliae, p. 38, and Brut, p. 308; cf. Fabyan, ed. Ellis, p. 467. If Reading is right as to the presence of David of Scotland the date must be before his release in October, 1357. There is other evidence of frequent jousts during king John's first winter in England, culminating in the magnificent festival at Windsor on St. George's day (23 April), 1358 (*Eulogium,* III, 227; Knighton, II, 99; Delachenal, *op. cit.* II, 65-66). David was again in England in November of the latter year, but the rupture of the peace negotiations with France (see above p. 271) make this an unlikely time for a joust of which John was a spectator.

P. 129, l. 10. *Convocato parliamento.* The roll of this parliament which sat for three weeks (5-27 February) is unfortunately lost, but the want of unanimity on the question of peace with France mentioned by Reading (and copied in the *Chron. Angl.,* p. 38) is confirmed by the Scalacronica (Maitland Club, p. 177) and by a letter of John to some of his officials at Paris dated 18 March. Complaints were made of the treatment England had recently received at the hands of the pope, who had excommunicated the judges in the suit against bishop Lisle (see next note) and was demanding the payment of the old tribute of 1,000 marks (cf. Knighton, II, 98); an opinion was expressed that the Roman Court would be more likely to remedy these grievances in order to secure the release of the French king than they would if he were first set free. The result was the despatch of two envoys to Avignon but the answer they received is not known (Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V,* II, 64-5). Later in the year Innocent is said to have absolved the excommunicated judges (Knighton, II, 103).

P. 129, l. 14. *Johannes Lyle, Eliensis episcopus cujusdam dominae ad sequelam . . . fatigatus.* The bitter feud between Blanche of Lancaster, sister of duke Henry and widow of lord Wake of Liddel (d. 1349), and the stiff-necked bishop of Ely, Thomas (*not* John) de Lisle, which widened into a dispute between Edward III and the pope with untoward results on the peace negotiations with France, has been dealt with at some length by the late Canon Venables in the Dictionary of National Biography (XXXIII, 344). Subsequent publications have, however, added a few dates and details to the

story and others were overlooked in the article. The commission of oyer and terminer to enquire into lady Wake's charge that the bishop had burnt her houses at Colne in Huntingdonshire was appointed on 10 November, 1354 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1354-8), pp. 162, 313-4). She was awarded £900 damages (not £90 as in D.N.B.), but in June, 1355, the question whether they could be recovered against a bishop still remained undecided (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1354-60, p. 137). In the November parliament of this year the king on lady Wake's petition took her cause into his own hands (*Rot. Parl.,* II, 265). Lisle was already said to be contemplating the flight to Avignon which he carried out a year later (*Cal. Close Rolls,* 1354-60, p. 159). The temporalities of his see were granted for a year from October, 1356, to John de Wesenham (*ibid.* p. 392). Pope Innocent's excommunication of Lisle's judges drew angry remonstrances from Edward III in 1357; steps were taken to prevent the papal bulls being brought into the realm, and the parliament of February, 1358 (see previous note) insisted on satisfaction in this matter as one of the conditions of peace with France (Knighton, II, 103-4; *Foedera,* III, 380; Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V,* II, 74). Knighton says that the excommunicated officers were absolved soon afterwards, but relations continued to be strained between England and the papacy (*ibid.* p. 76, n. 2), the prospect of peace between England and France was for the present postponed, and Lisle never returned to his diocese, dying at Avignon in 1361.

It will be seen that, apart from the mistake in Lisle's christian name, Reading's badly written account is inexact in its chronology. His St. Albans copyist corrected his grammar, but not his errors (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 39).

The incident of the forcible delivery of the papal letters to the treasurer, John de Sheppey, bishop of Rochester, is also mentioned by "Birchington" in his History of the Archbishops of Canterbury (*Anglia Sacra,* I, 45), but according to him Lisle's agents (who were put in the Tower) were not condemned to death but to perpetual penance. We learn too from Birchington that the excommunicated person whose body was exhumed by the bishop of Lincoln was Sir Simon Drayton.

P. 130, l. 18. *Festum S. Georgii . . . regaliter . . . celebrari procuravit.* The splendour of this festival on 23 April, 1358, which was graced by three queens (Isabella, Philippa and Joan of Scotland), two kings and the dukes of Brabant and Lüneburg, and attended by many other foreigners, is mentioned by most of the chroniclers. Knighton (II, 99) emphasises its international character, and the Eulogium (III, 227), which confirms Reading's

note of the duke of Lancaster's injury in the jousts ('laesus fuit in crure'), declares that they were unparalleled since the time of king Arthur. According to the Scalacronica (Leland, *Collect.*, I, 568) the duke of Lüneburg, who was brother of the emperor Charles IV, came to England to solicit Edward's aid against the count of Flanders. Reading seems to be the sole authority for the French king's sarcastic remark on observing that the payments for all this splendour were made on a credit system by tallies instead of ready money. The Brut (p. 307) translates it: "Wherfor the King of Fraunce, in scornyng sayd that he saw nevere ne herd such solempne festes ne ryalties holden ne done with taylles, withoute paying of gold or silver." For the frequent use of the tally as a cheque see Mr. Hilary Jenkinson's article on William Cade in Eng. Hist. Rev., XXVIII (1913), p. 216.

A brief notice of the festival with somewhat similar wording is given in the ordinary printed continuation of the Polychronicon (VIII, 409), but it is absent from the older form of this chronicle contained in Harl. MS. 1,729 and from Trevisa's translation (*ibid.* p. 350). For once the St. Albans compiler omits to borrow from the Westminster monk and has in fact no mention of the festival.

P. 130, l. 26. *Ricardus filius Radulphi . . . sedem advenit apostolicam.* Reading's account of the crisis of Fitz-Ralph's long conflict with the mendicant orders was only partially borrowed by the St. Albans compiler, who substituted for its first sentences a paragraph apparently taken from the Continuation of Murimuth (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 38; Wals., I, 285; *Cont. Mur.*, p. 191). But the discarded matter is not very helpful as the archbishop went to Avignon in 1357 not 1358, while Reading's assertion that he sought to conceal his destination from the Friars is not easily reconciled with Fitz-Ralph's own statement that he was summoned by the pope at their instance to defend his opinions at the papal court (R. L. Poole, in *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, XIX, 196).

It is worth noting that the St. Albans writer in the passage adopted from Reading alters 'possessionati' into 'clerus,' to harmonize with the wording of his introduction, and obscures the fact that the promises to Fitz-Ralph, which they are said to have broken, were pecuniary undertakings.

P. 131, l. 18. *Johannes . . . filius regis . . . Blanchiam . . . duxit in uxorem.* This passage which was copied by the continuator of Murimuth (p. 193) and—from him probably—by the St. Albans compiler (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 39; Wals., I, 286) seems to be the only contemporary record of the place and exact date of John of Gaunt's marriage: at Reading on Sunday, 19 May, 1359.

P. 131, l. 25. *Hastiludia.* The Latin chroniclers do not reproduce Reading's account of the jousts held by John of Gaunt on his way to London after his marriage or the strange story of the 3 days tournament in London on May 27-29th in which the king, his four grown-up sons and nineteen nobles personated the mayor and twenty-four aldermen in the tilting. The latter incident, however, was translated by the compiler of the Brut (ed. Brie, p. 309), the manuscript of which (quoted as MS. Vet. Ang. CCC. Cantab.) formed the source of Barnes' elaborated version (*Hist. of Edw. III*, p. 564). Mr. Armitage Smith gives the story from Barnes, whose references, however, are inaccurately stated (*John of Gaunt*, pp. 14-15). The assertion (p. 15) that "three days jousting celebrated the event at Reading" before the wedding party left the town, is not supported even by Barnes.

P. 132, l. 6. *Johannes rex Franciae . . . obtulit . . . Flandriam,* etc. Reading's assumption that John II was insincere in offering the terms of what has been called the Second Treaty of London (24 March, 1359) is unfounded. The imminent lapse of the truce and above all John's anxiety to secure his liberation at any cost induced him to agree to conditions infinitely more onerous than those imposed by the abortive treaty of the previous year or by the Treaty of Brétigny in 1360 (Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V*, II, 80-2). Nearly the whole of the western half of France was to be ceded to Edward III.

Flanders is not mentioned in the preliminaries, but the greater part of Picardy was actually included in the proposed cessions along with Normandy, Maine, Touraine, Anjou and Aquitaine in its widest interpretation. It is not surprising that the estates called together at Paris by the regent Charles declared that the treaty was neither endurable nor feasible and authorised "good war to be made upon the Englishman" (*ibid.* p. 87).

The passage is briefly summarised in the Chronicon Angliae (p. 40).

P. 132, l. 18. *Numerum mille et centum navium excedente.* This figure and the appointment of the infant Thomas of Woodstock to be regent are excerpted by the St. Albans chronicler, whose account of the preparations seems otherwise taken from the Continuation of Murimuth (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 40).

P. 132, l. 21. *Visitatis sanctorum locis.* This pilgrimage to the English holy places, ending with a solemn visit to Westminster Abbey on 21 September, may be compared with the similar round of visits before the Poitiers campaign (see above p. 120). The

king's curious speech in the Abbey (which Reading may have heard and possibly adorned), justifying his intention of being buried there with Edward the Confessor, Henry III and Edward I and not among the Three Kings at Cologne, is printed here for the first time, for none of the compilers who used Reading's work seem to have thought it of sufficient interest to reproduce. The Brut (p. 309) merely says : "And in that same yere King Edward chose his sepulture and his liggyng at Westminster, faste by the shryne of Sent Edward."

P. 133, l. 16. *xxvii° die Octobris . . . versus Calesium vela direxit.* Though the king embarked between dawn and sunrise on 28 October (*Foedera,* III, 452), Reading's error is pardonable. It is shared by the author of the Eulogium Historiarum (III, 228). The St. Albans compiler in copying from Reading enlarges the error by representing the incorrect date as the time of Edward's landing at Calais (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 40). He omits his declared resolve not to return until the war was ended, a point of agreement between Reading and Jean le Bel (ed. Polain, II, 254).

P. 133, l. 19. *Quarto die Novembris, diviso exercitu,* etc. Saturday, 2 November, is given as the date of the departure from Calais by the Eulogium (III, 228) which here has an air of minute knowledge of dates. Reading however is supported by Thomas Gray who took part in the expedition (*Scalacronica,* Maitland Club ed., p. 187; Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles* V, II, 150). cf. Chron. Angl., p. 40.

P. 133, l. 26. *In festo . . . S. Luciae . . . civitati Remensium appropinquantes.* The date—13 December—is probably more than a week too late. The army seems to have arrived before Rheims in the early days of the month, perhaps on the 4th (Delachenal, II, 153-4). Knighton is even further out. He gives 18 December (II, 107). The Chronicon Angliae (p. 40) copies Reading's date.

P. 133, l. 29. *Sanguis . . . de tumba . . . Thomae quondam comitis Lancastriae.* The significance of this miracle is not apparent. Was it an omen, discovered *post eventum,* of the extinction of the male line of the earl's family in 1361, or merely a preliminary to a renewal of the unsuccessful attempts of thirty years before to obtain Thomas' canonization (*Foedera,* II, 695, 792, 814) ? That his tomb was still a place of pilgrimage is shown by a provision in the will of Humphry de Bohun, earl of Hereford, made on 10 October, 1361, that a good and loyal man should be sent to the tomb of Thomas, late earl of Lancaster, to offer xls on

his behalf (Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta,* p. 68). This last was the very year in which the chapel built on the site of Lancaster's execution was dedicated, and its first chaplain appointed (Holmes, *Pontefract,* p. 161).

This and the following entry occur in a clearly related form in Arundel MS. 86, f. 121b, Addit. MS. 10,104, f. 151, the Cont. Murim., p. 192, and the Chron. Angl., p. 42. The question of priority presents some difficulties which are discussed in the Introduction, pp. 55, 58.

P. 134, l. 3. *Obierunt et hoc anno. . . .* Two only of the four persons mentioned actually died within the year 1359, Geoffrey lord Say on 26 June and John lord Grey of Rotherfield on 1 September (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.* XXIII, 192; L. 386). John (*not* Thomas) de Vere, earl of Oxford, died on 24 January, 1360, during Edward III's raid into Burgundy (*ibid.* LVIII, 239), while Roger (*not* Geoffrey) de Northburgh, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield, or Chester as it was often colloquially called, was dead before 30 November, 1358, when license was given to the chapters to elect a successor (*Cal. Pat. Rolls.,* 1358-61, p. 122). Le Neve is thus mistaken in asserting that the license was not enrolled (*Fasti Ecclesiae Anglicanae,* I, 550). Northburgh's death is often placed on 22 November, 1359 (*Anglia Sacra,* I, 43), which is probably the correct day of the month, but certainly a year late.

For Robert de Stratton see Dict. of Nat. Biogr., LV, 47, where however the statement that he was elected on 1 January, 1358-9, seems incorrect, as is also Le Neve's assertion that the royal assent to his election was given on that date (*op. cit.* I, 550). It was really signified to the archbishop of Canterbury on 21 January, 1358-9 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* I, 142). The decisive part played by the Black Prince in securing the bishopric for his illiterate protégé, in the face of both papal and archiepiscopal reluctance is otherwise attested (*Anglia Sacra,* I, 44).

P. 134, l. 15. *In festo S. Hilarii . . . se movebat versus Burgundiam.* The date—13 January, 1360—is two days too late. The siege of Rheims was raised and the English army departed about midnight on Sunday, 11 January (*Grandes Chron.,* VI, 167, quoted by Delachenal, *op. cit.* II. 161).

P. 134, l. 18. *Septingentena milia florenorum.* This is an error. It is one of the cases in which Reading's copyists, who have 'septuaginta' (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 40; *Brut,* p. 309), seem to follow a better MS. than Cotton Cleop. A. XVI. This figure however, though nearer the mark, is too low. If gold florins worth 6s. are

what is meant the sum would have amounted to no more than £21,000. The actual figure fixed in the Treaty of Guillon (10 March, 1360) for the sparing of Burgundy was 200,000 *moutons d'or,* i.e. *deniers d'or au mouton* (*Foedera,* III, 473). Their sterling equivalent is given (roughly) by Fabyan (*Chron.,* p. 469) as £35,000; he clearly takes them as small florins of 3s. 6d. but his estimate of the value of a *mouton d'or* on the previous page would bring their sterling value up to about £50,000. The former total is, however, approximately confirmed by Thomas Gray who accompanied the expedition. He reckons the *mouton d'or* as worth 4s., which gives a total in English money of £40,000 (*Scalacronica,* in Leland, *Collectanea,* I, 574).

P. 134, l. 19. *Mansitque ibidem usque ad xviii diem Martii.* The agreement of the Brut (p. 309) and the Chron. Angliae (p. 40) on 17 March again shows an error, though a small one, in the Cotton MS. As no exact itinerary has been preserved of Edward's march from Guillon to Chanteloup near Paris which was reached on 31 March, it is impossible to say precisely where he received the news of the sack of Winchelsea which provoked him to a direct attack upon the French capital (Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V,* II, 173, 185). It is certain, however, that it was not in Burgundy, as Reading seems to imply, still less at Rheims, where a stupid gloss of the St. Albans compiler places him (*Chron. Angl., u.s.*). Edward had marched westwards from Guillon upon the county of Nevers and he was no doubt in the valley of the Yonne, perhaps at Asnois, when he made his change of plan. As the attack on Winchelsea only took place on 15 March, it is hardly likely that Edward heard of it so early as 17 March, and a date about the 20th of the month seems more probable. The original continuation of the Polychronicon (VIII, 410) puts it as late as 25 March.

P. 134, l. 25. *Villam de Wynchelse hostiliter ingressi.* The French naval descent upon England in March, 1360, was planned some months before by Louis d'Harcourt, lieutenant-general of Normandy, and the admiral of France, le Baudrain de la Heuse, in the hope of rescuing king John from his captivity. A considerable fleet was prepared in the ports of Normandy and Picardy and took on board a force of 1,200 lances and 800 crossbowmen, but, owing to misinformation and mismanagement, it degenerated into an aimless coast attack, stained by atrocities which at once provoked reprisals (Delachenal, *op. cit.* II, 176 sqq.). Reading's short account of the affair is very fairly correct, but the leader of the expedition was not the count of St. Pol, as he says, though he took part in it, but Jean de Neuville, nephew and lieutenant of

Marshal d'Audrehem. The preference of Neuville to the count, in deference to the wish of the commons, caused a coolness between the two which did not promote the success of the enterprise. Reading seems the only authority for the exact hour (between nine and noon) on the morning of Sunday, 15 March, when Winchelsea was taken, and he alone speaks of an attack, threatened or carried out, upon Hastings, but with regard to Rye he obtains some support from the rather full story in the Chronique des Quatres Valois (p. 111), though its statement that the French landed at Rye, and made their attack on Winchelsea from there does not agree well with other versions of what happened. A point in which Reading is more clearly confirmed is the French loss before re-embarcation. A troop of 160 who lingered to pillage were cut to pieces by the English militia before they could reach their ships. This incident is referred to in the ordinary continuation of the Polychronicon, (VIII, 410), the compiler of which had in this case some other source than Reading before him. The later continuation compiled by John Malvern denied that the French suffered any loss (*sine damno eis illato*), and this version was preferred by the continuator of Murimuth (p. 192) and the St. Albans compiler (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 42).

Longman questions the date given for the sack of Winchelsea because, if it is correct, the news reached Reading the same day (*Hist. of Edward III,* II, 53; *Foedera,* III, 476). His scepticism is shown to be ill-founded by Delachenal (*Hist. de Charles* V, II, 181).

P. 135, l. 18. *Quidam illorum* (*praelatorum*) *armis utebantur in aperto.* Thus the abbot of Battle with his followers is said to have cut up the French stragglers at Winchelsea (*Polychr.,* VIII, 410).

P. 135, l. 22. *Duodecimo die Aprilis . . . veniens Parisius.* Edward remained at Chanteloup only until Easter Tuesday, 7 April, when he moved off and occupied the heights overlooking Paris on the south-west (Delachenal, II, 189; the *Scalacronica* (p. 193) says that Edward lodged himself behind the suburbs of St. Cloud on Wednesday). Reading however does not really refer to this movement, but to the demonstration before the walls of the city on Sunday, 12 April, which was a mere cover for Edward's retreat the same day. The chronicler may, indeed, have regarded the two movements as continuous, but he cannot be held responsible for the strange distortion of his words perpetuated by the compiler of the Chronicon Angliae (pp. 41-2), who says that Edward remained at Rheims "usque post festum Sancti Gregorii

papae (i.e. after 12 March), quando se convertit Parisius, *id est duodecimo die Aprilis,* et cum appropinquasset Parisius exercitus in novem acies disposuit," etc. The words italicised were seen on a later revision to be inconsistent with dates given both before and after this passage, and were therefore cut out (*Hist. Angl.,* I, 288). But by striking out *post* at the beginning of the sentence and reading '*ad* festum Sancti Gregorii,' a change which was evidently thought to be consequential, the reviser introduced a new contradiction. For on the previous page he retains the statement, founded on Reading, that Edward did not begin his movement on Paris until "*the fifth day after* the feast of St. Gregory." The Brut (p. 310) is here a pretty full translation of Reading.

P. 136, l. 4. *Suburbia plurimum destruxerunt.* Reading's story of the doings of the army on the 12th may have borrowed features which belong to the early days of its establishment before Paris (Delachenal, *op. cit.* II, 189-190). There seems to have been more than one attempt to induce the French to come out and fight a pitched battle, though Knighton's account (II, 111) may really refer to that of the 12th. He says that thirty of the newly made knights mentioned by Reading drew double their number from the city by an appeal to the obligations of chivalry (petentes ab eis opera militaria secundum legem armorum), and overthrew them. The fact of the conflict is confirmed by Thomas Gray, who mentions the gallantry of Richard Baskerville, one of these "new knights of the band of prince Edward (*Scalacronica,* Maitland Club, p. 193).

P. 136, l. 11. *Insulam de Caus viriliter ceperunt.* This is an exaggeration. The fort of Leure at the mouth of the Seine was taken and Harfleur completely invested, but the town made a stout resistance and, if we may trust the French accounts, Louis d'Harcourt, the Regent's lieutenant in Normandy, prevented any raiding of the 'Island' of Caux, so-called as situated between the lower Seine and the sea. On the conclusion of peace at Brétigny on 8 May, the siege of Harfleur was raised. The expedition left England early in April, within the fortnight after Easter according to Gray (*Scalacronica,* in Leland, *Collectanea,* I, 577), who says that it comprised the navy of the Cinque Ports and the northern fleet, and carried 1,000 men-at-arms and 1,500 archers. If these figures are perhaps too low, Reading's 14,000 and the 10,000 of the Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois (pp. 117-8), both of which authorities agree that the fleet comprised no more than 80 ships, are clearly excessive. The share of the Londoners in fitting out the expedition is exaggerated by the latter chronicler who makes

it a private adventure of Henry Picard, a rich London vintner who had been mayor in 1357. As a matter of fact it was directed by John Pavely, prior of the Hospitallers, who was appointed admiral on 26 March (*Foedera,* III, 479). Picard, however, was appointed with other citizens of London on 18 March to find crews for the ships (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1358-61, p. 411).

P. 136, l. 11. *Quibus incognitis domino regi Angliae.* As the terms of the French offer of peace are said to have been inacceptable Reading must be supposed to refer to the fruitless negotiations at Longjumeau on 3 April and at la Banlieue just a week later (Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V,* II, 187, 190). But the assertion that these overtures were due to the English operations in the pays de Caux lacks corroboration. Unfortunately the exact date of their landing is not known, but it was almost certainly after the 3 April. Reading's anxiety to trace the conclusion of peace a month later to the success of the English arms is obvious. The count of Tancarville was not, as here stated, engaged in these preliminary negotiations with Androuin de la Roche, abbot of Cluny, one of the papal nuncios and Jean le Maingre, called Boucicaut. Boucicaut was marshal of France, an official designation which Reading seems always to convert into seneschal. The St. Albans chronicler makes things worse by transferring this latter title to Tancarville who was chamberlain, and conferring that of constable (which belonged to Robert de Fiennes *dit* Moreau) upon Boucicaut (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 42).

P. 136, l. 28. *Treugas Gallici . . . pro partibus suis maritimis obtinuerunt.* This partial truce said to have been granted before the 12 April is a pure figment of Reading, and it was possibly knowledge of this which led the St. Albans compilers to ignore the passage. It was not until peace had been signed at Brétigny (8 May) that orders were sent to the English commanders before Harfleur to cease operations.

P. 137, l. 6. *Et in crastino octavarum* (*octav.*) *Paschae.* The St. Albans copyist or his editor reads 'in crastino, octavis Paschae,' i.e. Sunday 12 April. This was actually the day on which the army left Paris and marched towards Chartres (Delachenal, II, 190), but the absence of any previous reference to Saturday the 11th seems to show that Reading put the departure a day late, on Monday, 13 April. This was the impression of the Brut compiler who translates : "and in the morwe after the oeptas of Pasche, the King turned hym with his ooste towardes Orlyaunce" (ed. Brie, p. 311).

P. 137, l. 7. *versus Aurileanum.* Knighton (II, 112) also has "versus partes de Orlions in Bevosina" (Beauce), but Edward's route left Orleans far to his left.

P. 137, l. 8. *Ingruente . . . tempestate saevissima* The famous storm of Monday, 13 April, "a ffoule Derke day off myste and off haylle, and so bytter colde, that syttyng on horse bak men dyed. Wherfor unto this day yt ys called blak Monday, and wolle be longe tyme here affter" (*Chronicles of London,* ed. C. L. Kingsford, p. 13; cf. Delachenal, *op. cit.* II, 191). More than six thousand horses perished according to one account (Knighton, II, 112) and a great part of the vast convoy which was a feature of this expedition ("congregatis circa mille curribus" : *Polychr.,* VIII, 409) was rendered useless. The disaster had not however the decisive effects attributed to it by Knighton and Froissart (VI, 4-5, ed. Luce). It may have made Edward III more disposed to reasonable terms of peace but, as Reading says, it did not interrupt his march. He proceeded to Bonneval and perhaps as far as Châteaudun before the papal mediators found that he was willing to treat (Delachenal, II, 192).

P. 137, l. 14. *circa Inventionem Sanctae Crucis.* The negotiations at Brétigny began two days before the date given by Reading (3 May), on Friday, 1 May, and the treaty was signed on Friday, 8 May. But it is interesting to find from documents quoted by Delachenal (II, 198 n., 205 n. 1) that the treaty was apparently settled in all but details on 3 May, on which day four knights who had taken part in the negotiations left Chartres, considering their mission at an end, and having obtained payment of their expenses.

P. 137, l. 22. *quintodecimo die Maii.* This is just a week too late. Perhaps Reading has confused the date of signature with that of the ratification of the treaty by the prince of Wales which took place at Louviers on 15 May (*Grandes Chroniques,* ed. Paulin Paris, VI, 175-200).

P. 138, l. 4. *Duo videlicet barones, duo baronetti militesque duo.* The St. Albans compiler (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 43) reduces the number of the English commissioners, who were sent to Paris to receive the oath of the Regent Charles to the treaty, to four, omitting the two 'baronetti' (i.e. bannerets). Though he also drops the date (10 May), the omission in the case before us may not have been purely arbitrary, for both Froissart (VI, 19) and Villani (ed. Muratori, XIV, col. 620) give only four names. Reading's accuracy

with regard to the total is however established by the superior authority of the Grandes Chroniques (VI, 212), though they speak of three bannerets and three bachelors. The lists in Froissart and Villani, despite the fact that they have only one name in common, both agree with Reading in including two barons. Delachenal accepts Villani's names and adds the missing two from the witnesses to the Black Prince's ratification of the treaty on 15 May. His list is as follows: Reginald, lord Cobham (of Sterborough), Bartholomew, lord Burghersh, Sir Frank van Hale, Sir Miles de Stapleton, Sir Richard de la Vache, and Sir Nigel Loryng (*Hist. de Charles V,* II, 207). All six were knights of the Garter.

P. 138, l. 9. *Post dictum ter "Agnus Dei" cum "Dona nobis pacem."* The correctness of Reading's description of the service and the procedure of the oath which followed is confirmed by the Grandes Chroniques and Villani (Delachenal, II, 208). A low mass of the Holy Ghost was sung by the archbishop of Sens in the house where the dauphin was residing. The third invocation: "Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem" was the signal for the regent to advance to the foot of the altar and, in full view of the six English knights, take the oath in the solemn form which had been prescribed.

In the formula of the oath the Brut (p. 311) instead of 'Nos K[arolus]' has "We, N. and N." Delachenal regards this formula with suspicion, the words 'formatas *inter reges*' being inapplicable to the treaty of Brétigny. He suggests that it may have been used for the treaty of Calais.

P. 138, l. 17. *Distributis reliquiis de corona Christi.* The Scalacronica (Lel. I. 577) speaks also of portions of the Holy Cross. This was not the only gift which evinced the Dauphin's pleasure at the conclusion of peace. Froissart (VI, 20), who exaggerates his liberality with the precious relic of the Sainte-Chapelle, mentions also that each of the Englishmen received a fine horse and this is confirmed by the soberer writer of the Grandes Chroniques (Delachenal, II, 210).

P. 138, l. 20. *Consequenti sexta feria.* The sixth 'feria' or Friday after the 10 May was the 15th, which is the correct date of the prince's ratification and oath. The ceremony, which took place in the church of Nôtre-Dame at Louviers in Normandy, followed the same form as that at Paris, and the taking of the oath was witnessed by six French knights sent for the purpose.

P. 139, l. 2. *Majores Franciae in hostagium.* Forty hostages were required by clause 15 of the treaty (though forty-*one* are

enumerated in *Grandes Chroniques,* VI, 185- 6, and *Foedera,* III, 515), sixteen of whom had been prisoners since Poitiers. The number actually taken to England after the signature of the treaty of Calais in the following October was thirty (*ibid.,* p. 541).

If we take 'Daunsin d'Auvere' to be a corruption of ' Dauphin d'Auvergne' and 'Bois Harecourt' of 'Louis d'Harcourt,' Reading's list contains twenty-five names but the count of Valentinois is duplicated among the 'domini.' It is clearly the same selection originally as that given in the Chronicon Angliae (p. 44) and more fully in Cotton MS. Faustina B. IX (quoted in a note to that passage). But if, as is probable, Reading's list was the foundation of these, it must have suffered badly in transcription, for not only is its spelling even more erratic, but it omits some details (e.g. the christian name of the sire de Craon) which they preserve. The names are not copied directly from the treaty of Brétigny for John II's younger sons, Louis, count of Anjou, John, count of Poitiers, and Philip were not created dukes of Anjou, Berry and Touraine until October, when they appear under their new titles in the treaty of Calais. It will be observed that instead of the duke of Burgundy (a title which Philip did not bear before 1363) the St. Albans compiler inserts the duke of Bourbon (Louis II, brother-in-law of the regent Charles).

P. 139, l. 16. *non modicam relinquens moestitiam.* The siege of Harfleur was raised on the conclusion of the treaty, to the disgust of the besieging force (above p. 137), but perhaps the Brut (p. 312) is right in taking Reading to refer merely to the soldier's sorrow at the king's departure.

P. 139, l. 17. *xix die Maii in Angliam applicitus.* This date, though supported by the Grandes Chroniques (VI, 214), is not quite correct for an official memorandum records with precision that Edward landed at Rye about vespers on Monday, 18 May, and reached London next day "quasi bassa hora nona" (*Foedera,* III, 494). In Reading's case the discrepancy may be due merely to a slip, or transcriber's error, for he states quite correctly that the king returned to Westminster on St. Dunstan's day, which was May 19th. The St. Albans compiler here as usual blindly follows the Westminster chronicler, but in the next sentence alters his statement that Edward visited king John within three days after his arrival into the vaguer: "quievit paulisper; et mox . . .," (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 44). The accuracy of Reading's dating of an event which was doubtless within his personal knowledge, is attested by the letters which John wrote to the senéschausées of southern France on the 22 May, notifying his acceptance of the

terms of peace (Delachenal, II, 217). In stating that he was thereupon freed from captivity (*liberatum ab omni carcere*) Reading speaks too strongly for John's formal ratification of the treaty was not given until 14 June (*ibid.* p. 218), and even then he was required to consider himself a prisoner until the first fifth of his ransom had been paid, and other conditions fulfilled. Hence his liberation was delayed until 25 October, the day after the signature of the treaty of Calais (*ibid.* p. 259).

P. 139, l. 21. *De tribus milionibus florenorum . . . pro sua redemptione.* As the standard of the French coinage was much depreciated at this date, it was carefully stipulated in the treaty that the ransom should be paid in 'écus d'or' or florins, two of which should be worth an English noble, i.e. 6s. 8d. sterling. Payments were therefore made in old écus d'or of Philip VI or in their equivalent plus cost of coinage (Delachenal, II, 204, 444, cf. 81, n. 5). The French questioned the fineness and weight of the English money, and Edward ordered a special assay to be made (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1358-61, p. 582). The whole ransom amounted to £500,000 sterling of which one-fifth, 600,000 crowns, was to be paid before John was set free, but ultimately a first payment of 400,000 crowns was accepted.

It is impossible to fix exactly what half a million sterling meant in the fourteenth century as compared with the present day. One difference, indeed, can be calculated with some approach to precision. The pound sterling was then a pound weight of silver while our sovereign, though still called a pound, is the equivalent of only about a third of a pound of silver. Sixty-two shillings were coined from the pound of pure silver before our silver coinage became token money in 1816. Hence the metallic value of £500,000 in 1360 was three times what it is to-day, or £1,500,000 roughly. But the allowance that should be made for the greater buying power of money in the fourteenth century is much more difficult to assess. M. Delachenal, after calculating the metallic value of the ransom as something under 40,000,000 francs, quotes two estimates of its buying power, one of which multiplies it by about 6 and the other by rather less than 2 (*op. cit.* II, 204). He thinks the latter very much nearer the truth. But this, which would make the ransom equivalent to 2½ millions sterling nowadays, seems a very conservative estimate.

P. 140, l. 2. *Nono die Julii . . . transfretavit.* The date is a day late. John arrived at Calais from Dover on the morning of 8 July (Delachenal, *op. cit.* II, 219). The Chronicon Angliae (p. 44)

follows Reading. Another account says he landed at vesper time on the 7th (above p. 209).

P. 140, l. 8. *Violenti fulgure subito perierunt.* Cp. Chronicon Angliae, p. 44.

P. 140, l. 10. *Convenientibus . . . duobus regibus . . . apud Calasium.* Edward III crossed to Calais on 9 October, and the treaty in its final form was signed by both kings on the 24th of that month. So that Reading's date—about 1 November—is a very rough approximation. Nor is he aware that this treaty of Calais differed materially from the provisional treaty of Brétigny, by the omission and relegation to a separate instrument of the clause relating to the renunciations on either side; the result of which was that these renunciations were never actually made (Delachenal, *op. cit.* II, 242-250).

Edward III never formally renounced his claim to the French crown and to Normandy, Anjou, Maine and Touraine with suzerainty over Brittany and Flanders, while John II similarly withheld his surrender of his rights of suzerainty over the territories ceded to the English king by the treaty.

The oath to observe the peace was taken on the 24th in the church of St. Nicholas by the two kings, three sons of each and many nobles with exactly the same ceremonial as had been used when the dauphin and prince of Wales took the oath in the previous May. For this reason apparently the St. Albans compiler omits the details given by Reading (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 44). Mass was said and the oath administered by the papal legate, Androuin de la Roche, abbot of Cluny (Delachenal, II, 252). Cp. below p. 363.

P. 140, l. 22. *Quorum articuli patent in sequentibus.* What follows is a summary digest of the chief clauses of the treaty of Brétigny in its original shape with the renunciations, Reading being clearly unaware that these were omitted in the final form of the treaty as signed at Calais on 24 October. The wording of the Latin version of the treaty is in a rough way retained, but the spelling of some of the proper names and the curious misreading 'per putagium' for 'per partitionem,' where the French version has 'par partage,' suggest that the writer had this also before him. He introduces a statement of the length of the French occupation of the territories in the south-west now ceded to Edward III which is not in the treaty, and throws the cession of La Rochelle into the Calais clause along with that of a town which, if it be St. Valery, is not separately mentioned in the original document. The St.

Albans compiler has the same summary, and there can be no doubt that he took it from Reading, though the Cotton MS. of the latter's chronicle shows a wider departure, in some small matters of wording, from the text of the treaty. Here, too, as elsewhere, the not infrequent agreement between Reading on the one hand and Bodleian MS. 316, Cotton MS. Faustina B. IX and Walsingham on the other against the readings of the Chronicon Angliae seems to show that the last named, though in substance the earliest form of this chronicle, is not a very good manuscript of its class.

P. 140, l. 26. *Feodis de Touard et terra de Bellevile.* The fief of Thouars (now Thouarsais-Bouildroux), not to be confused with the viscounty of Thouars, and the chatelleny of Belleville (Belleville-sur-Vie near le Poiré) lay within the bounds of the present arrondissement of La Roche-sur-Yon in the department of La Vendée. They had formed part of the inheritance of Jeanne de Belleville, wife of Olivier de Clisson, on whose execution for treason in 1343 they had been confiscated by Philip VI (Lavisse, *Hist. de France,* IV, 1, 56). The English claimed that 'terra de Bellevile' covered the whole of Jeanne's lands, wherever they lay, but this was disputed by the French and the question was still outstanding when war was resumed in 1369 (Delachenal, II, 201).

P. 141, l. 5. *Kaure.* The small county of Gaure was situated to the east of Armagnac and near Lectoure.

P. 141, l. 9. *A sexaginta annis hucusque.* The sentence in which this 'terminus a quo' is introduced is a very free redaction of the provision of the treaty (clause I, *Foedera,* III, 487) that feudatories within the ceded territories should perform all services which they had done 'in temporibus retroactis.' Reading may have had in mind the stipulation in a subsequent clause, that gifts, alienations and other dispositions by the French crown executed within the last *seventy* years were to be void.

P. 141, l. 24. *Per putagium.* This strange misrepresentation of the 'per partitionem' of the Latin version of the treaty suggests that the abbreviated text in Reading, if not an independent translation of the French version which reads 'par partage,' was at least influenced by it. The Chronicon Angliae (p. 45) reproduces the mistake.

P. 142, l. 3. *villam sancti Wallerici.* The St. Albans chronicle reads Sancti Wallerici, i.e. St. Valery-sur-Somme. This place, however, though included in the cession of Ponthieu, was not mentioned by name in the treaty.

P. 145, l. 10. *Et est milio milies mille.* This explanatory interjection of Reading's is transferred by the Brut translator to the first mention of the amount of the ransom (above p. 139, *Brut,* ed. Brie, p. 308) : "and ye shul understonde that a Milioun is M^{l} M^{l}."

P. 146, l. 1. *Exceptis (forisfacturis) vicecomitis de Fronsard et domini Johannis de Gilard.* Raymond, vicomte of Fronsac on the Dordogne, after deserting the French for the English allegiance, made his peace with John II by an agreement executed at Cognac on 23 January, 1353. Edward III confiscated his possessions, and gave them to his daughter, the wife of Guillaume de Pomiers (Cosneau, *Les Grands Traités de la Guerre de Cent Ans,* p. 57). The commanding position of Fronsac, which was less than 25 miles from Bordeaux, may have heightened Edward's exasperation. Jean de Galard, who seems to have aroused a similar sentiment, belonged to the same district. He was lord of Limeuil on the middle course of the Dordogne. In 1356-7 his adhesion to the English cause had been expensively purchased (Moisant, *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine,* pp. 61, 63, 190) ; but apparently like Raymond of Fronsac he had changed sides again, though the circumstances in his case are not recorded.

P. 147, l. 17. *Praedationes magnatum.* Reading is the sole authority for these disturbances, which the St. Albans compiler did not consider important enough to copy. Commissions of oyer and terminer were appointed on 25th and 28th of November in consequence of riotous attacks upon the estates of Henry Percy and the abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, and there is also mention of a similar commission which was sitting to deal with trespasses in Wilts, Gloucester, Somerset and Dorset, but the date of its appointment does not appear (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1358-60, pp. 516-7). It is not certain of course that these disorders were the 'latrocinia' alluded to by the chronicler. Was this outbreak of lawlessness one of the results of the peace, due to the return of the army from France?

P. 147, l. 19. *Ricardus filius Radulphi.* Archbishop Fitzralph's death at Avignon is variously dated 16 November and 20 November (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.,* XIX, 197). The latter and less probable date is that given by the St. Albans chronicler (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 48) who here deserts Reading for the fuller account he found in the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 193), which *inter alia* mentions the removal of Fitzralph's bones to his native Dundalk. This could not have been earlier than 1369, by which date Reading was probably dead. For a fuller reference to Fitzralph's controversy with the Friars see above pp. 130-1.

P. 147, l. 24. *Johannes de Shepeie.* John de Sheppey, bishop of Rochester (above p. 252), died on 19 October, 1360 (Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.,* II, 563). He succeeded bishop Edington as treasurer in 1356, and held the office until his death. Mr. Kingsford in the Dictionary of National Biography wrongly makes his tenure end in 1358. His successor was Simon de Langham, bishop of Ely. The St. Albans writer abbreviates this and the next two entries, which deal with events not noticed in his other authorities (*Chron. Angl.,* pp. 48-9).

P. 147, l. 25. *Johannes de Treilek.* John de Trillek, bishop of Hereford, died on 30 November, 1360 (Le Neve, *op. cit.* I, 462).

P. 147, l. 27. *Communis mortalitas senium ac puerorum.* This epidemic among young and old, which does not seem to be recorded by any other independent chronicler, must be distinguished from the second visitation of the plague in 1361-2, which Reading notices in its proper place.

P. 147, l. 30. *apud Wyndessore.* Apparently a transcriber's slip for Woodstock where Edward spent Christmas (*Foedera,* III, 554; *Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1358-61, p. 508). The error did not exist in the manuscript used by the St. Albans compiler (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 49).

P. 148, l. 1. *Parliamentum.* The roll of this parliament is lost but Stubbs, without quoting his authority, dates it 24 January—18 February (*Const. Hist.,* II, 413), which is a day less than Reading allows if 'prima feria sexta' is taken to be the first Friday in Lent, which in 1361 was 19 February. For other business laid before the houses than that mentioned in the text see Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1358-61, pp. 564, 577; Cal. Close Rolls, 1360-64, p. 165.

From this point, the ordinary Continuation of the Polychronicon, as explained in the Introduction (p. 46), develops a still closer relation to Reading's work. It is significant that the author of the Brut henceforth mainly translates this Polychronicon continuation, though with considerable additions from Reading as far as his work goes. He seems to have found that the continuator had saved him the labour of summarising Reading's rather involved paragraphs.

P. 148, l. 7. *Convenerunt in ecclesia Westmonasterii.* The other accounts of this final taking of the oath to the peace in Westminster Abbey on Sunday, 31 January, seem all to be derived from Reading, who may have been present. The Brut and the continuator of Murimuth (p. 194) alone retain the date, but the St. Albans chronicler gives a closer transcript of Reading's description of the

ceremony, including the full text of the oath, but adding, apparently without authority, that it was first taken by the archbishop. Walsingham actually alters the generalised "nos R. de N." (*Brut*: "N. and N.") of the oath formula into 'Nos Nicholaus, archiepiscopus Cantuariensis' (*Historia Anglicana,* I, 294). All MSS. of the St. Albans chronicle conclude: "Sicque firmata pace inter duo regna, liberatus est rex Johannes." The compiler was led into this anachronism by copying from the continuator of Murimuth, who borrowed the passage from Malvern's continuation of the Polychronicon (ed. Lumby, VIII, 358), and misplaced it.

P. 148, l. 26. *Solis eclipsis.* What Reading's "sex evolutis diebus" may mean is very hard to say. There is also an error in the date, the 6th of May, 1361, being Ascension day itself not its eve. The Brut has: "in the Ascencioun," and may be following an earlier MS. of Reading than Cotton, Cleopatra A. XVI. It is curious, however, that the actual day of the eclipse was 5 May, 1361. As the eclipse was over by 10 a.m. in this country, Reading's "lucente adhuc meridie" is inexact. I am indebted to Mr. F. J. M. Stratton of Caius College, Cambridge, for the necessary computations. The Polychronicon (p. 411) and the Chronicon Angliae (p. 49) omit the festival, and the latter ignores the drought which followed the eclipse.

P. 149, l. 2. *Cecidit pluvia sanguinea Burgundiae,* etc. The Chronicon Angliae adds correctly that the 27 May was the feast of Corpus Christi, but transfers the date to the vision of the 'sangweyn crosse' (*Brut*) at Boulogne. In both points it seems to follow the Polychronicon (*u.s.*) which however, like the Brut, omits the bold attacks of wolves and foxes upon men, which Reading seems to regard as portended by these prodigies. The Chronicon Angliae attributes these attacks to foxes only while another St. Albans compilation of a similar type, the continuation of the Historia Aurea, mentions only wolves.

P. 149, l. 10. *Apparuerunt duo castella.* There is another version of this prodigy in which instead of knights an army "albo colore coopertus" fights with the 'nigri.' This version, which was preferred by all the other chroniclers who relate it (including the *Brut* compiler) except the St. Albans writer, seems to have originated with the Polychronicon continuator (p. 411). His other indebtedness to Reading makes it probable that he altered the story as he found it in the Westminster chronicle. Reading mentions no misfortune that followed this portent, as he does in the case of the eclipse and the 'sangweyn rayn and crosse.'

Can it be that the victory of the 'nigri' foreshadowed the rout of the French royal troops by the companies in the battle of Brignais in April, 1362?

P. 149, l. 17. *Rosariae produxerunt rosas,* etc. This last prodigy is copied only in the Chronicon Angliae (p. 50) and in Bodleian MS. Laud Lat. 5 (f. 1b; see Introduction, p. 23).

P. 149, l. 20. *Sedes Londoniensis vacavit,* etc. Bishop Northburgh died, of the plague it is said, on 9 September, 1361. Simon Langham's election in his stead has been sometimes overlooked since it did not take effect, though it is mentioned in his epitaph (Flete, *Hist. of Westm. Abbey,* p. 133), and by the continuator of the Polychronicon (p. 411) who probably derived his knowledge of it from Reading. Sudbury's bull of provision was dated 22 October, 1361, and he was consecrated on 20 March, 1362, the same day that Langham was consecrated as bishop of Ely. That unfortunate see was vacant by the death of its self-exiled bishop, Thomas Lisle (see above p. 129), at Avignon on 23 June in this year. Reginald Bryan, bishop of Worcester, who was the pope's first nominee, being carried off by the plague on 10 December, and Innocent declining to accept the elect of the monks, John Buckingham, afterwards bishop of Lincoln, Langham was provided by him on 10 January, 1362. Mr. Kingsford's authority does not appear for the statement in his life of Langham in the Dictionary of National Biography, that the abbot was elected bishop of Ely before London fell vacant and when the latter was offered to him, refused to change.

John Barnet, archdeacon of London, succeeded Bryan at Worcester, not apparently by election, as Reading asserts, but by a papal bull dated the same day as Langham's (Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.,* III, 58).

The episcopal changes so far mentioned are alluded to in most of the other chronicles which are more or less dependent upon Reading; but he is alone in recording the appointment of Lewis de Charlton to the see of Hereford. This had been vacant since 30 November, 1360 (above p. 289), but the chapter was divided, and there was a double election. Charlton's rival was the John Barnet just mentioned. The pope decided for Charlton, issuing a bull in his favour on 10 September, 1361, but Barnet, as we have seen, was soon provided for in a neighbouring diocese (Le Neve, *op. cit.* I, 462).

Besides those mentioned in the text the sees of St. Davids and Llandaff became vacant in this fatal year (*Anglia Sacra,* I, 45).

P. 150, l. 5. *Obierunt abbates de Bury, Redinge, Abbendoniae.* William de Bernham, abbot of Bury St. Edmunds, died before 3 March (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1358-61, pp. 556, 572), Henry de Appleford, abbot of Reading, on 29 July (*ibid.* 1361-4, p. 52; Dugd., *Monasticon,* IV, 32), and Roger de Thame, abbot of Abingdon, before 14 July (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1361-4, p. 41). Bernham's immediate successor did not live to be installed, and among the other heads of houses who fell victims to the plague were the abbots of Chertsey, Shrewsbury, and Cirencester and the priors of Merton and Coventry (*ibid.* pp. 35, 53, 164).

P. 150, l. 7. *Ac dominus Henricus, dux Lancastriae,* etc. The duke of Lancaster died at Leicester on 23 March, 1361. The chronicler who comes nearest to the correct date is Malvern, who places the duke's death on 24 March (*Polychr.,* VIII, 359; so also Dugdale, *Baronage,* I, 789, from MS. Bibl. Bodl., G. 9, 125b). His will is dated 15 March, yet a persistent error, much diffused of late by Doyle's Official Baronage and the Complete Peerage, gives 13 March as the day of his death, which the Dictionary of National Biography converts into 13 *May.* The true date is established by the Leicester Records (ed. Bateson, II, 124-5).

Reginald, lord Cobham, K.G., of Sterborough in Lingfield, Surrey, died of the plague on 5 October, 1361 (Dugdale, *op. cit.* II, 70).

Sir William Fitzwaryne, K.G., of Wantage, whose son Ivo is said to have been father-in-law of Richard Whittington, fell a victim to the pestilence on 28 October in this year (Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter,* pp. 96-8; Dugdale, *Monasticon,* VI, 746; Hutchins, *Hist. of Dorset,* 3rd ed., I, 327; IV, 174).

John II, lord Mowbray of Axholme, died at York of the pestilence on 4 October, 1361 (Dugdale, *Baronage,* I, 127).

This list appears again in the ordinary continuation of the Polychronicon (p. 411) and the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 195) but without Mowbray's name, which is restored by the St. Albans chronicler (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 50), who otherwise follows the continuator of Murimuth in his account of the plague and its victims.

P. 150, l. 9. *Maria et Margareta filiae regis Angliae.* Mary, fourth daughter of Edward III, was born on 9 October, 1344 (Cotton MS. Cleopatra A. XVI, f. 154; 10 October according to G.E.C. *Complete Peerage,* VI, 355; cf. *Cont. Murim.,* p. 174; *Chron. Angl.,* p. 18). She was married at Woodstock in the summer preceding her death (as his first wife) to John de Montfort, called the Valiant, duke of Brittany (d. 1399). Sandford wrongly attri-

butes to her his children by his third wife (*Genealogical History*, p. 179). Margaret was two years younger, having been born at Windsor on 20 July, 1346 (above pp. 102, 231). She was married "in the Queen's Chapel" apparently at Reading in 1359 to John Hastings, earl of Pembroke, as his first wife (Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, pp. 170, 172). She died without issue in 1361 after 1 October (*Complete Peerage*, VI 210). Reading seems the sole authority for her burial with her sister at Abingdon Abbey, as well as for the correct date of her birth.

P. 150, l. 11. *Mortalitas sexum masculinum valde consumens.* There is obviously a close connection between Reading's characteristic tirade on the conduct of women after the second pestilence and the similar paragraph in the continuation of the Polychronicon (ed. Lumby, VIII, 411), though the latter denounces their marriage with their inferiors in rank rather than immoral connexions. That the continuator was the borrower seems probable from a careful comparison of the parallelisms between the two chronicles during the years 1361-67 (see Introduction p. 46). Langland's complaint of the evil effect of the plague upon morality should be compared with this passage (*Piers the Plowman*, ed. Skeat, I, 281, and note, II, 144). The continuator of Murimuth, followed by the St. Albans compiler, confines himself to the bare fact that the pestilence was more fatal to men than to women. The Brut (p. 314) translates the Polychronicon.

P. 150, l. 28. *Ventus zephyrus sive auster.* Some turns of expression, especially the epithet 'Affricus,' suggest a connexion between Reading's account of the Great Wind of Saturday, 15 January, 1362, and that of the Polychronicon continuator (p. 412), which was copied by the continuator of Murimuth and the St. Albans chronicler. The priority of Reading seems proved by his description of the gale as "a west or south wind," while the others call it a south wind without qualification. Loose as it is, Reading's phrase is a nearer approach to the fact, for his contemporaries the monk of Malmesbury and William Langland agree that it was something more than a south wind. The former says that it came suddenly in the evening, 'ab Meridie et Occidente' (*Eulogium Historiarum*, III, 229) and the author of Piers the Plowman describes it as a south-west wind :

"He [Reason] preide the peple haue pite of hem-selue,
And preuede that this pestilences weore for puire synne,
And this south-westerne wynt on a Seterday at euen
Was a-perteliche for pruide and for no poynt elles.

Piries and plomtres weore passchet to the grounde,
In ensaumple to men that we scholde do the bettre.
Beches and brode okes weore blowen to the eorthe,
And turned upward the tayl in toknyng of drede
That dedly synne or domesday schulde fordon hem alle."

Pass. A, 12-20, Skeat, I, 123.

William Thorn, the Canterbury chronicler, tells how a monk who took refuge in the chapel of St. Pancras, thinking himself perfectly safe there because it had a new roof, was killed by a beam detached by the wind (*Decem Scriptores,* col. 2,122).

In commending their petitions to the king in the following autumn the "poor and simple Commons" in parliament reminded him of their sufferings by pestilences of wind and water as well as mortality of men and beasts (*Rot. Parl.,* II, 269; cf. also p. 279). It took three years to repair the damage wrought on the estates of Westminster Abbey (Flete, *Hist. of Westm. Abbey,* p. 135). See also Chronicles of London, ed. Kingsford, p. 13. The steeple of the Austin Friars church was blown down (Stow, *Survey,* I, 177). Reading seems to be the only independent authority who speaks of the gale as blowing continuously for a whole week, but Fabyan says it "contynued for the more partie in suche sternesse by ye space of v dayes after" (ed. Ellis, p. 475). The Brut (p. 315) adds Reading's estimate of its duration to its translation of the Polychronicon account. The fantastic jousting in Cheapside, in which tilters disguised as the seven deadly sins were to meet all comers, the proclamation of which according to Reading brought evil spirits about, is not otherwise recorded.

P. 151, l. 9. *Sequebatur pluviae inundatio.* The heavy rains of this summer do not seem to be mentioned in any other chronicle except the Brut, which takes the notice from Reading (ed. Brie, p. 315).

P. 151, l. 12. *Langham . . . in Eliensem praesulem promovetur.* Reading has already recorded Langham's promotion under the previous year, when bishop Lisle his predecessor died, but the pope's bull providing abbot Langham was not granted until 10 January, 1362, and he was consecrated on 20 March following (Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.,* I, 335-6). His appointment, while still abbot of Westminster, as treasurer of England is usually dated 21 November, 1360, but the feast of St. Clement, to which Reading ascribes it, fell on the 23rd of that month. Flete, the fifteenth century historian of the Abbey, remarks on the increased royal favour which it enjoyed while Langham was treasurer and

chancellor. For his benefactions and services to the house see above p. 108, and Flete's fuller account (*Hist. of Westm. Abbey*, pp. 130-133). It was not, according to Flete, the "manor of Finchley" but a manor in that parish which Langham acquired "for the tunics of the monks." The passage is worth quoting:

"Pro anniversario suo perquisivit in Fyncheley manerium de Bidek juxta Hendone in comitatu Middlesexiae, et le Frithe in Alferthyng in comitatu Surreyae; videlicet ad vesturam et furruram conventus in eodem anniversario fratribus distribuendam, cuilibet scilicet fratri ii virgatas burneti largi et unam pelliciam, vel aliter pro pellicia ii solidos in pecunia numerata" (*op. cit.* p. 133).

P. 151, l. 24. *Nicholaus de Litlington.* Litlington was elected abbot in April, shortly before which the king resigned his profits during the vacancy to the convent (Flete, p. 134). He ruled the Abbey with distinction until 1386 (see above pp. 103, 109, and Flete, pp. 134-137).

P. 152, l. 1. *Libra cerae pro xviiid.* This was probably about three times the normal price. A pound of wax was bought at Leicester in 1319 for 6½d. (Bateson, *Records of Leicester*, I, 322). The St. Albans compiler borrows the fact of the high price, but omits the reflection on the wax-chandlers who had forced it up.

P. 152, l. 3. *Familiae quoque papae*, etc. This incident of life at the papal court, which Reading must have heard from some one who had visited Avignon, is not mentioned in the lives of Innocent VI published by Baluze. It may have been connected with those rivalries among the cardinals which, on Innocent's death shortly after, prevented the election of any of their body (see below p. 303). Eight members of the Sacred College were relatives of the late pope Clement VI, and three of Innocent (E. Werunsky, *Gesch. des Kaiser Karls IV*, III, 266).

P. 152, l. 5. *Magna Societas. . . proeliabantur cum Gallicis.* The various bands of *routiers* which when acting in concert were known as the Great Company, though they had not been in existence for six years as Reading alleges (see above p. 269), ravaged Languedoc in 1361 until November, when they were bought off. Returning early in 1362 they were repelled by Marshal d'Audrehem now the king's lieutenant in Languedoc, who was assisted by the exiled Henry of Trastamara. The marshal followed on their heels, and they seemed in great danger of being crushed by the junction of his force with the army commanded by

the count of Tancarville which barred the road to the north, But in the battle of Brignais, fought close to Lyons on 6 April, 1362, the royal forces repeated the errors of Poitiers, and sustained a crushing defeat, though the monk of Malmesbury's statement that 40,000 of them were slain, or three times the whole number of their adversaries, is a wild exaggeration (Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V*, II, 319-320; *Eulogium*, III, 229). James of Bourbon, count of La Marche, uncle of the Dauphin's wife and his son Peter were mortally wounded, and the young count of Forez, Bourbon's nephew, was slain on the field. The prisoners were many and the ransoms high. Signal as was their success the victors did not press it home, and in July agreed for a large bribe to follow Henry of Trastamara to Spain. But this expedition was delayed and they remained in France (Delachenal, II, 321). cf. Chron. Angliae, p. 51.

P. 152, l. 10. *Andrinus abbas Cluniacensis . . . venit Londonias.* Androuin de la Roche, who had recently been made a cardinal and ceased to be abbot of Cluny, was one of the papal legates who had watched over the negotiations at Brétigny two years before. He probably landed in England early in April, for he was at Canterbury on Palm Sunday (10 April) and the two succeeding days (W. Thorn in Twysden, *Decem Scriptores*, col. 2,122). The safe-conduct issued to him on his departure bears date 2 June (*Foedera*, III, 651). Certain questions arising out of the treaty of Brétigny were still unsettled, the most important of which was that of the renunciations and the abbot was sent by pope Innocent, now nearing his end, to examine the mutual grievances of the two kings. Meanwhile on 20 March John had sent Jacques la Riche, " maître des Requêtes " of his Hôtel, and Alphonse Chevrier, " maître du parlement," to negotiate with Edward on these outstanding questions (Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V*, II, 337). The cardinal on his way to England had secured John's consent to the making of the renunciations and, if his failure in England was not due to a conflict of policy between the Dauphin and his father, we must adopt Delachenal's suggestion that Edward was more intent on obtaining the delayed cession of the " terre de Belleville," the county of Gaure and certain places in Ponthieu in return for the release (with other hostages) of four "seigneurs de Fleurdelys" the dukes of Anjou, Berry, Bourbon and Orleans with whom he concluded a treaty to that effect in the following November (*Foedera*, III, 681, 685, 694). The reduction of king John's ransom mentioned as one of the objects of the cardinal of Cluny's mission perhaps alludes to

an arrangement by which Edward III agreed to accept from the pope the proceeds of a clerical subsidy in lieu of 100,000 crowns of the ransom, for which sum the pope remained the creditor of the French crown. The last item in the cardinal's instructions as given by Reading causes some difficulty. A conference at St. Omer at this very moment was attempting to settle the Breton succession question (*Foedera,* III, 628, 633); but there is no other mention of the alleged proposal of a marriage alliance between the English royal house and the family of Charles of Blois.

P. 152, l. 20. *Hastiludia . . . in Smethfelde.* Reading seems to have disapproved of tournaments and more than once connects them with ill-omens and disasters. The destructive fire at St. John's Priory which took place on this occasion was omitted in the St. Albans chronicle (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 51) and is not mentioned by Stow (*Survey of London,* ed. Kingsford, II, 29). By turning Reading's "venerunt consequenter" into "ad quae venerunt" the St. Albans compiler conveys the false impression that the knights from Spain, Cyprus and Armenia, who came to England to invoke Edward's assistance against the infidel assailants of their countries, were present at these jousts in the first week of May. The Cypriote envoys preceded their king, who came to England in the summer of 1363 (see below (p. 311)).

P. 153, l. 4. *Mutatur stapula.* Reading is in error when he states that the staple (i.e. for wool, woolfells and hides) was removed in this year from *Bruges* to Calais. It had been recalled to England from the Flemish city as far back as 1353, a transfer noticed by Reading himself under that year (above p. 119), and staples had been appointed in ten or eleven English towns, of which Westminster owing to its proximity to London was the most important. But this arrangement, though it diminished the economic disadvantage of the smaller wool growers and dealers, was found to have some drawbacks. In addition to the lowering influence on prices exerted by the competition of woolsellers for shipping, there were sea risks to be covered for the foreign buyer, and both land and sea risks for the English exporter who traded unprotected in alien lands. There was a good deal to be said then for the establishment of a staple on English territory across the channel, apart from the king's desire to promote the prosperity of Calais. Commercial opinion was, however, divided as to the policy of the step. The question, after being discussed probably at the conference of representatives of the eleven staples summoned for the end of May, 1361 (to which Westminster sent 10 delegates out of 45), was laid before the autumn parliament of 1362; but in view of the conflict

of opinion among traders, the knights of the shires declined to advise, declaring that the merchants were the proper persons to consult (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1360-64, p. 267; *Rot. Parl.*, II, 268-9). With or without this further consultation a staple for wool, hides and woolfells was set up at Calais, which had for some time been the centre for the continental distribution of the minor English products of lead, tin and feathers.

Reading's further complaint, that the Westminster staple was removed to London, contrary to the oath which he alleges the king had taken in 1353 (above p. 119), Edward salving his conscience by leaving a few houses filled with wool together with the scales and weights, calls for some explanation. Fortunately the history of the staple at Westminster at this juncture is well illustrated by entries in the Patent and Close Rolls. The Ordinance of the Staple provided that goods, after being weighed and sealed with the seal of the mayor of the staple there and paying custom, should be carried with the mayor's certificate of payment to the port of London, where they were weighed a second time by the controllers of the king's customs and, if the weights tallied, were passed for export (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 246). As early as 26 July, 1353, orders were given to secure carpenters for the works of some houses in the palace to be carried out for the staple of wool and of a new bridge there towards the water of the Thames for the discharge of the wool brought to the said staple by river (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1350-54, p. 511). The Woolstaple, as the houses were still called in Stow's day, was apparently outside the "high tower or gate which entreth the pallace court," i.e. what is now New Palace Yard (*Survey of London*, ed. Kingsford, II, 102; cf. plan in Longman, *Edward III*, II, 57). Was the new bridge identical with the "Kingsbridge" which is marked on the Elizabethan plan, close to the north-eastern corner of Westminster Hall? Most of the wool however came by road, and already in November, 1353, the highway between "the gate called Temple barre," which was the eastern limit of the staple, and the gate of the Abbey was so broken up and deteriorated by the staple traffic that measures had to be taken to put it in repair (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1350-54, pp. 529, 530; *Stat. of Realm*, I, 349). Owners of houses along the road were required, on the ground that the value of their property had been enhanced by the staple, to pave as far as the gutter on their side of the street. The middle of the road and the sides where no houses stood were repaired by John Bedford of London, who received grants for pavage down to 1362 (*ibid.* p. 538; 1358-61, p. 530). These grants seem then to cease, though Thomas Payver was working in March, 1363, at "the pavement ordered for the staple

of Westminster" (*ibid.* 1361-64, p. 317). The cessation of the pavage grants perhaps lends some support to Reading's assertion that the decline of the Westminster staple began as early as 1362, but the first positive evidence comes three years later.

As the great mass of the wool was brought to London in the first place, the journey to Westminster and back involved needless delay and expense. Accordingly, on 28 February, 1365, the controllers of the customs at London were authorised to pass wool (on which custom had been paid) for shipment to Calais, without waiting for a bill sealed by the mayor of the staple at Westminster, as prescribed in the Ordinance of the Staple (*Cal. Close Rolls,* 1364-68, p. 95). This order—which is expressly stated not to have been the first of the kind—was repeated in the following May, and in a more definite form in January, 1371 (*ibid.* p. 104; 1369-74, p. 170). Rather more than a year subsequent to this latter date we find the dean and canons of St. Stephen's compensated for arrears of a rent issuing from certain houses within the staple of Westminster, "as by the removal of the said staple it has in great part ceased" (*ibid.* p. 398). It is not strictly correct to say that the staple was removed, though most of its business was; the staple courts continued to be held at Westminster by the mayor and constables and for a time at all events some wool was brought to the staple houses at the palace (Gross, *Law Merchant* (Selden Soc.), XXVII, 113, where a plea of 1401 is printed; *Cal. Close Rolls,* 1369-71, p. 497).

The St. Albans compiler omits the Westminster part of the entry under discussion, which is therefore now published for the first time (*Chron. Angl.,* p. 51).

P. 153, l. 12. *Vestes in quibus idem apostolus Petrus missas celebravit.* Doubtless the "vest which had belonged to the Blessed Peter the Apostle," which was brought to the king by a clerk of Thomas de Nevill, canon of York, who received £5 on 13 May (Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer,* p. 176). Curiously this gift is not recorded in Flete's long list of relics given to Westminster Abbey. He is equally silent with regard to the accompanying grant of two stags a year from Windsor Forest though he mentions the older donation of eight does, alluded to by Reading, as made by Henry III to abbot Barking (1222-1246) when treasurer of England (*Hist. of Westm. Abbey,* p. 103). In 1249 the does came from Rockingham Forest (Turner, *Select Pleas of the Forest,* Selden Soc., p. 92). With this passage the continuator of the Polychronicon (VIII, 413) seems to draw once more upon Reading. He, in turn, was copied almost verbatim by the Continuator of

Murimuth (p. 197), and the St. Albans chronicle seems to have had one or other before him while making his extract from Reading (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 51).

P. 153, l. 21. *Dominus Edwardus . . . principatum Aquitaniae recepit.* Reading's date—20 July—is not quite exact for the documents relating to the creation of the prince as prince of Aquitaine and his homage (with an undertaking to pay an ounce of gold annually as an acknowledgment of his father's suzerainty) are dated on the day before (*Foedera,* III, 667-8). His despatch to Gascony has been sometimes attributed to his father's resentment at his recent marriage with his widowed cousin Joan of Kent, but it is more correct to view it as an attempt to conciliate the people of Aquitaine by a show of restoring their independence (Tout, *Political Hist. of England,* III, 404; cf. Moisant, *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine,* p. 75). The use made of this passage by other chroniclers is closely similar to that of the last entry, and we need only note that by accident or design the St. Albans compiler, to some extent, corrects the false date by substituting a *circa* for *in*, and that the Brut (p. 315) here follows the abbreviated entry in the Polychronicon continuation, in preference to the fuller one in Reading from which it was probably derived.

P. 153, l. 24. *Cantiae comitatum.* Reading here raises a question on which peerage writers speak with divided voice. The Black Prince is never included in the list of earls of Kent, though, according to one theory, his wife had become *suo jure* countess of Kent on the death of her brother John in 1352, and the summons of her previous husband Thomas Holland to parliament as earl of Kent in November, 1360 (a few weeks before his death) is supposed on this view to have been made *jure uxoris.* Mr. Cokayne however maintains that "despite the absence of evidence of creation" this summons "must be dealt with *as a creation,* for his son succeeded him in that dignity many years before the death of the widowed countess" (*Complete Peerage,* 1st ed., IV, 351-2). It is surely begging the question, however, to date the son's tenure of the earldom from his father's death, as Mr. Cokayne does, when he was admittedly never so styled or summoned to parliament until 1381, in his thirty-first year and only four years before his mother died. The view that the earldom was vested in her down to 1381 and was then, doubtless with her consent, conferred in anticipation upon her son and heir apparent by favour of his half-brother Richard II, seems to fit the facts better (Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter,* p. 218).

P. 154, l. 3. *Non abstinere . . . in festis sanctorum ab operibus prius illicitis.* This injunction, which met by anticipation to some extent a grievance voiced by Wycliffe in his protest against "this multitude of festis" (*Select English Works,* ed. Arnold, I, 330; Wylie, *Henry IV,* III, 197), seems to rest upon Reading's authority. It does not occur among Islip's constitutions and letters in Wilkins' Concilia (vol. III) and the Literae Cantuarienses published in the Rolls Series. The St. Albans copyist omits the date, the comparison of Islip to Pharaoh, and the confused explanation of William Rufus' death which makes him the destroyer of churches to form the New Forest; but it is apparently based upon a better manuscript of Reading than we possess since it limits the injunction to '*certain* saints' days' and mentions the penalty of excommunication which the clergy were to incur, presumably if they still tried to enforce observance of these feasts (*Chron. Angl.,* pp. 51-2). Islip's attempts to limit the incomes of the lesser clergy were not popular, and this secularisation of a number of festivals was calculated to increase their resentment. Hence Reading's strong language.

P. 154, l. 8 *In manus tradidit Sancti Albani.* This is only Reading's rather pedantic way of telling his readers that William Rufus was killed on August 2nd, the day of the translation (or invention) of St. Alban.

P. 154, l. 10. *Non plus dari sacerdotibus . . . quam lxvis. viiid.* Islip's canon, which reinforced a vaguer one of 1350, was promulgated on 16 December, 1362 (Wilkins, *Concilia,* III, 1, 50-1). It had been laid before parliament a month before, when laymen were forbidden under penalties to pay higher salaries than those fixed by the archbishop (*Rot. Parl.,* II, 271; *Stat. of Realm,* I, 373). Reading's notice is so brief as to be misleading. Only the unbeneficed clergy were affected. Since the Black Death reduced their numbers, chaplains had demanded higher remuneration for singing masses for the dead, and made it so profitable that they could not be persuaded to accept more poorly paid parochial duty when offered to them, though the ravages of the plague created a great demand for such parochial chaplains. Islip ordered that a chaplain singing masses should not be paid more than five marks (i.e. £3. 6s. 8d.) a year, and should lose his chaplaincy if he refused to undertake parochial duty. This was made more tempting by a higher maximum salary, six marks, that is £4 (see Addenda).

As five marks was equivalent at the very lowest estimate to £30 of modern money, and was the minimum annual income of a monastic parish vicar fixed by the Council of Oxford in 1222

(Wilkin's *Concilia*, I, 587), Reading's assertion that chaplains were driven to theft and robbery ought not perhaps to be taken too seriously. Parliament, it is interesting to note, considered that two marks might cover the cost of their clothing and other necessaries, leaving three for their food (*Rot. Parl., loc. cit.*).

P. 154, l. 13. *Coepit parliamentum.* Reading is wrong (and misleads the St. Albans compiler) if he must be taken to assert that the 16 October was the day for which parliament was summoned, the actual date being Thursday, 13 October, the "quanzisme de St. Michel" (*Rot. Parl.*, I, 269). But since on this, as on almost all other occasions, the opening was postponed for a day or two, owing to the scanty attendance on the date fixed, it is possible that Monday the 16th was the day on which the business of the session actually began. Unfortunately the roll of this parliament is defective at the beginning, and this date is no longer legible. The session concluded, as Reading tells us, on (Sunday) 13 November, the king's fiftieth birthday (*ibid.* p. 273). Stubbs has incorrectly 17 November (*Const. Hist.*, 2nd ed., II, 413). For the pardons with which Edward signalised his jubilee Reading is the original authority. A comparison with the two other chronicles which record them shows that the passage was first copied by the continuator of Murimuth (pp. 197-8) and afterwards conflated with this abbreviation by the compiler of the Chronicon Angliae (p. 52; see above p. 43). The continuator, in this case followed exclusively by the St. Albans chronicler, obscures the fact that the peerage honours bestowed upon the king's sons were also part of the jubilee celebrations by interposing a notice of the statute enjoining the use of English in courts of law. Both also omit John of Gaunt's promotion to a dukedom, having already antedated it by a year (*Cont. Mur.*, p. 194; *Chron. Angl.*, p. 50). Before the investiture of John and Edmund (Lionel was in Ireland) on the last day of parliament, the chancellor informed the estates that the king had spoken to certain lords of the goodness of God to him in several respects and especially in blessing him with sons of full age, wherefore he wished to "increase their names in honour" (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 273).

P. 154, l. 29. *Conceditur . . . de quolibet sacco lanae.* Reading's statement (repeated by the St. Albans compiler) that the king received from parliament a grant of 2 marks (26s. 8d.) from each sack of wool exported for 3 years is slightly ambiguous. The actual rate of the subsidy as granted was 20 shillings on the sack or 300 woolfells, but, including the ancient custom of half a mark

on the sack, the total amount taken as tax on each sack was as stated in the text (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 273).

P. 155, l. 3. *Nullus placitaret . . . nisi in lingua Anglicana.* See Rotuli Parliamentorum, II, 273, and Statutes of the Realm, I, 375-6. The Chronicon Angliae here follows the version of the continuator of Murimuth (p. 198), probably drawn from Malvern's continuation of the Polychronicon (ed. Lumby, VIII, 361). The Brut (p. 315) slightly expands the ordinary continuation (*Polychr.*, VIII, 413).

P. 155, l. 4. *Provisoresque nullos fieri in domibus regalium.* Reading mentions briefly, but on the whole correctly, three provisions of the Purveyance statute of 1362: (1) that the detested name of purveyor should disappear and be replaced by that of buyer (*et que le heignous noun de Purveiour soit change et nome Achatour*); (2) that nothing should be bought for the privileged households except for ready money and, though this is omitted in the text, at the ordinary market price; (3) that the penalties of non-observance of the statute should be strictly enforced. Buyers taking goods in other than the prescribed way were punishable in life and member, and if they discriminated against any one for money or otherwise were liable to treble damages and two years imprisonment (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 269; cf. *Eulogium*, p. 230). The important clause however by which the privilege of pre-emption was restricted to the households of the king, queen and their eldest son was overlooked by Reading, unless it has dropped out in transcription. It is recorded by the St. Albans chronicler though in an erroneous form substituting ' duces ' for ' primogenitus,' but he omits all mention of the change of name from 'purveiour' to ' achatour ' (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 52). This is possibly one of the rare cases in which he supplements Reading from any other source than the Continuation of Murimuth which has no notice of this statute. The description of the improved state of affairs which it introduced is not copied by him.

P. 155, l. 14. *Papa Innocentius . . . diem clausit extremum.* Reading's dates for the death of Innocent VI and the consecration of Urban V are both wrong. Innocent died on 12 September, 1362. The absence, on a papal mission to queen Johanna of Naples, of his unexpected successor (who was not a cardinal) Guillaume de Grimoard, abbot of St. Victor, Marseilles, son of Guillaume Grimoard de Beauvoir, lord of Grisac in Gévaudan, has caused some confusion as to the day of his election. It is sometimes stated to have been 28 October, three days before his return to Avignon

(Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium,* I, 363). But Harris Nicolas (*Chronology of History,* p. 205) places the event in September and Mas. Latrie (*Trésor de Chronologie,* col. 1,131) on the 28th of that month. The explanation, it seems, is that the actual election took place on 28 September, 1362, but was not completed and published until 28 October when Grimoard's acceptance was received (Baluze, *op. cit.* I, 399); E. Werunsky, *Gesch. Karls IV,* III, 266, from Souchon, *Die Papstwahlen von Bonifaz VIII bis Urban VI;* cf. Mollat, *Papes d'Avignon,* p. 104). The otherwise well informed Malvern (p. 361) is mistaken in asserting that the cardinals remained in conclave forty days, for they did not enter it until 22 September (Baluze, *loc. cit.*) Malvern evidently thought that the whole period of the vacancy was passed in conclave.

Urban was consecrated on 6 November, not on 31 October as Reading says. The Chronicon Angliae (p. 52) reproduces his mistakes but adds that Urban was 'patre Anglicus,' meaning no doubt that Grisac was in the territory ceded to the English king by the treaty of Brétigny, and concludes with an anecdote, drawn from some other source, relating how a friend to whom abbot Grimoard had once complained that if all the churches of the world were to fall not one would fall on his head, reminded the new pope of this and declared that they had now all fallen upon his single head.

P. 155, l. 22. *Johannes de Bokingham.* John Gynewell, bishop of Lincoln, died on 5 August, 1362, and Buckingham, who had been chosen bishop of Ely earlier in the year but passed over in favour of Langham, was elected before 20 October in the same year. On that day the royal assent was given, but the pope's bull of provision was not granted until 5 April, 1363, which put off the new bishop's consecration until 25 June following (Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.,* II, 15). The delay seems to have resulted from the papal vacancy and the opposition of the new pope to the appointment. Buckingham was a king's clerk, formerly keeper of the wardrobe, and since 1359 keeper of the privy seal, a member of that class of royal officials whose fitness for the high church promotion their master sought for them needed careful scrutiny, as had been clearly shown in the case of Robert Stratton (above p 277). According to Le Neve pope Innocent, shortly before his death, had approved of Buckingham becoming bishop of Lincoln. The dates throw some doubt upon this, but, whether it was so or not, the new pope at first refused to confirm the appointment. Afterwards, yielding to the king's importunity, he consented to

satisfy himself that Buckingham was a suitable person for a bishop, though he was already dean of Lichfield and held much other church preferment (*Cal. Papal Letters,* IV, 1). Buckingham was accordingly examined ' super literatura ' by two abbots at St. Omer and came through the ordeal (*Anglia Sacra,* I, 45, 449, 663; Malvern in *Polychr.*, VIII, 365). Malvern and Reading agree that the papal confirmation was not obtained without dispensing money, doubtless to members of the Curia.

In this and the next entry Reading seems only indirectly the source of the corresponding passage in the Chronicon Angliae through the continuation of Murimuth (p. 198).

P. 155, l. 24. *Per mortem . . . Roberti episcopi.* Robert Stratford, bishop of Chichester since 1337, formerly chancellor of England and brother of archbishop Stratford, died on 9 April, 1362. The date of the bull of provision in favour of William de Lynn (or Lenne) is not recorded, but he was consecrated in the summer at Avignon where he was 'auditor sacri palatii' (*Polychr.,* VIII, 364; Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.,* I, 242).

P. 155, l. 26. *Domina Johanna . . . regina Scotiae.* Joan, youngest sister of Edward III and wife of David II king of Scotland, was born in 1321. She died in London, according to Fordun, on 14 August, 1362, but the Eulogium Historiarum (III, 229) gives 7 September as the day of her death (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, XXIX, 391). She was buried near her mother, queen Isabella, in the church of the Franciscans in London (see above p. 128).

P. 156, l. 2. *In infirmitate litargiae.* See New Eng. Dict. *s.v.* Lethargy. The " mildest form of coma."

P. 156, l. 7. *Hiemavit . . . apud Wyndelesoram.* Edward seems to have been at Windsor as early as 16 December, 1362 (*Cal. Close Rolls,* 1360-4, p. 434). cf. Chronicon Angliae, p. 53.

P. 156, l. 8. *Mittuntur XXIV mercatores . . . ad villam Calesiae.* On the establishment of the wool staple at Calais the government of the town was taken from the échevins, and handed over (1 March, 1363) to the merchants of the staple represented by 2 mayors and 24 aldermen, the former chosen by the aldermen from their own number and the latter elected by the whole body of merchants (*Foedera,* III, 690-2). Each merchant is said to have been furnished with 6 men-at-arms and 4 archers at the king's expense (Hen. Knighton, II, 117). But within a year the new constitution broke down, and loud complaints of unfair treatment

were made by merchants bringing goods to Calais. The "New Company of Merchants at Calais" was accused of levying an extra 3s. 4d. a sack for their own benefit (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 276). The result of an enquiry ordered early in 1364 was the separation of the municipality from the staple (*ibid.* pp. 719, 723, 732, 739). The town was henceforth governed by a mayor and 12 aldermen (six of whom were merchants) appointed by the king, and the staple was ruled like other staples by a mayor and 2 constables (*ibid.* pp. 768, 795).

P. 156, l. 12. *Papa pluralitates . . . revocavit.* Urban V's constitution against pluralities was known as "Horribilis" from its first word.

The St. Albans compiler copies this entry very unintelligently. The continuator of Murimuth (p. 197) follows the account given in the ordinary continuation of the Polychronicon (VIII, 413)—where the editor has printed "*necata* horribilis" for "vocata Horribilis." The writer of the latter may have had Reading before him but adds that pluralists with the help of lords were able to surmount the prohibition.

P. 156, l. 16. *Fratrem suum.* Urban V's brother, Ange de Grimoard de Grisac, was made bishop of Avignon on 12 December, 1362, and a cardinal (Mas Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie,* cols. 1,199, 1,382); but this was almost the only case in which this reforming pope promoted a kinsman. Cardinal Grimoard lived until 1388.

P. 156, l. 18. *Johannem regem Franciae . . . cruce signavit.* John II took up his residence at Villeneuve-les-Avignon in November, 1362, hoping, it appears, to raise money with the aid of the pope, and remained there until 9 May, 1363 (Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V,* II, 314, 345). Peter of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, whose recent capture of Satalia from the Turks (24 August, 1361) had revived the idea of a new crusade, arrived at Avignon on 29 March; two days later on Good Friday, 31 March, Urban V, who had taken up the suggestion much more warmly than his predecessor, gave the cross to the two kings, the cardinal of Périgord, and other great lords of John's suite (*ibid.* pp. 323-4). It is often stated that a third king, Waldemar III of Denmark, received the cross on this occasion, and Reading's "aliis regibus" might seem to countenance the assertion which Simeon Luce made on the strength of a passage in Baluze's Vitae Paparum Avenionensium (Froissart, VI, xli). But Delachenal has pointed out that Waldemar's visit to Avignon did not take place until a year later

(*op. cit.* II, 324). Reading's bitter remark on the low motives of the new crusaders is omitted in the Chronicon Angliae. King John of course did not live to go to the holy war.

P. 156, l. 23. *Diabolici sacerdotem . . . quarterizabant.* This mysterious crime is also recorded, in terms too similar to be independent, in the Continuations of the Polychronicon (fullest in Addit. MS. 10,104, f. 151b) and Murimuth, and in the Chronicon Angliae (p. 53), but these three versions are more closely related to one another than any one of them is to Reading's account. The primary version is doubtless that of Reading, who gives more details, e.g. the occurrence of the deed during some jousts and the excommunication of the unknown criminals by the bishop of London. The first who borrowed from him would be the continuator of the Polychronicon. No independent record of the murder has been found.

P. 157, l. 7. *Fructus suos ubertim produxerunt.* Reading alone notices that there was a bountiful harvest this year, in spite of much rain and wind in its earlier months.

P. 157, l. 10. *Inter Christianos et Saracenos bellum.* This brief and vague notice presumably relates to the battle which is described with more detail in the Eulogium Historiarum (III, 237), in both the printed continuations of the Polychronicon (VIII, 364, 414-5), and in a less correct form in the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 201), and the Chronicon Angliae (pp. 55-6). These five chroniclers obviously follow one and the same account in which the battle is represented as fought on 1 November in the plains of Turkey, the Christian leaders being John (*rectius* Lewis) king of Hungary, 'Siwardus rex Gorgoniae,' and the master of the Hospital of Rhodes, while the 'pagans' were commanded by the sultan of Babylon, the king of Turkey, King Baldak, King Belmarinus, the king of the Tartars and the king of Lithuania (Lecco, Lettow). The vanquished Saracens lost three of their kings and 40,000 men actually counted, with many more not numbered. On the Christian side 5,210 were slain. The Eulogium version of this account was almost certainly the original one for (1) it adds that 15 pilgrims and 9 knights and esquires taken prisoners in the battle were imprisoned in the castle of Chaundelour, whence 18 were ransomed three months later by Lombard pilgrims, the rest being put to death, and (2) it is inserted in such close juxtaposition to a description of a great earthquake at Rhodes given to one of the writer's fellow monks at Malmesbury Abbey by a knight Richard Chastellayn who had witnessed its

destructive effects, as to suggest strongly that Chastellayn was also his authority for the story of the battle with the infidels, in which the grand master of Rhodes was one of the Christian leaders. As regards the date of the battle, which Reading places in 1363 : the writer of the Eulogium inserts it between events of 1365 and 1366, but his editor, F. S. Haydon, gives 1364 as the year both of the earthquake and the battle and, as the chronicler, who was a contemporary, would not hear of either until some considerable time after they happened, there is nothing impossible in this dating. It agrees with that assigned to the battle by the compilers who seem to have based their accounts directly or indirectly upon the Eulogium. But in the absence of any evidence that Haydon had independent authority for 1364 as the year of the earthquake, it seems possible that all he had to go upon was the dating of the battle in these secondary writers and an indication of somewhat dubious value, which at once raises the question of the identification of what is represented in this account as a crushing Christian victory, though Reading leaves the impression that it was more evenly contested.

Haydon seems to have had no doubt that the monk of Malmesbury was describing a battle fought in European Turkey and identified it with the great Christian defeat on the Maritsa, two days' march from Adrianople, the scene of which still bears the name of 'Servians' Rout' (Sirf-Sindughi) where, according to Joseph von Hammer (*Gesch. des Osmanischen Reiches,* 2nd ed. (1834-5), I, 150-151), Lewis the Great of Hungary was present in 1363. No attempt however is made by Haydon to account for the complete reversal of the fortune of the day by the English chronicler. Hammer's date is corrected to 1364 on the strength of a year of the Hegira, which was very likely an incorrect calculation of the editor of the French translation of Hammer's book used by Haydon, but if we may trust more recent historians of the Ottoman conquests in Europe both dates are wrong and the battle of Sirf-Sindughi was fought in September, 1371 (Hertzberg, *Gesch. der Byzantiner und des Osmanischen Reiches,* p. 496).

It is needless however to enter with more particularity into this question of date, because, so far as the battle described in the Eulogium has any historical basis, it must be looked for in quite a different quarter. In 1363, when the Ottoman Turks had been only seven years in Europe, the name of Turkey was still confined to Asia Minor. Chaundelour, to which the Christian prisoners were taken, must be Alaia on the Gulf of Satalia, a dependency of the Seljuk Turks of Karaman, which the Franks called Candelore. This region was a less unlikely scene than Thrace for a conflict

in which a sultan of Egypt and a king of Morocco (rex Belmarinus, Froissart's roi de Belemarine (Chaucer's Belmarye) a name derived from that of the dynasty Beni-marin) are alleged to have taken part. It is tempting to suppose that the pagan king of Lecto whom Peter of Cyprus brought a prisoner to London in November, 1363 (*Eulogium,* p. 233) was no other than the king of Lecco who fought against the king of Hungary and his allies, in which case we should have to assume that the copyists of the Eulogium were mistaken in regarding Lecco or Lecto as Lettow (Lithuania). But such a supposition would involve an identification of the battle 'in planis Turkiae' with Peter's capture of Satalia, which was his last achievement before leaving for Europe. Satalia however was taken in 1361 and on 24 August not 1 November; its fall too was followed immediately by the submission of Candelore whose ruler agreed to pay tribute to Cyprus, a fact difficult to reconcile with the story of the prisoners confined there (cf. Mas-Latrie in *Bibl. de l'école des Chartes,* 2nd ser., I, 495). A more fatal objection to the identification of the capture of Satalia with our battle is the absence of any king but Peter (who is not mentioned in the *Eulogium*) in the victorious army, and the equal silence of all local authorities with regard to the high personages supposed to have fought on the side of the Saracens. The truth is that there was no battle in the east in these years in which all the kings and rulers enumerated by the monk of Malmesbury could have taken part. Either he was hoaxed by Richard Chastellayn, or he himself filled out some such vague rumour as reached Reading at Westminster with the names of most of the crusading and infidel leaders of whom he had ever heard. The fate of the prisoners at Chandelour may perhaps be accepted as historical, and one hesitates to stigmatise the very precise figure given for the slain on the Christian side as a pure invention; but with what battle these facts should be connected we do not possess sufficient materials to determine.

P. 157, l. 14. *Ventus ille zephyrus.* This high wind on 26-27 September, 1363, seems to be only recorded here.

P. 157, l. 19. *Statuta parliamenti.* The parliament of 1363 met on Friday, 6 October (*Rot. Parl.,* II, 275), so that if Reading's "feast of Blessed Dionysius" is that of Dionysius the Areopagite (3 October) he is three days out. But as usual the actual opening was deferred for a few days, until Monday, 9 October, and this, which was the feast of St. Dionysius of Paris and of Dionysius, Rusticus and Eleutheries, martyrs, may have been the date

Reading had in mind. He is certainly wrong, however, in ending the session on 28 October. It lasted until Friday, 3 November (*ibid.* p. 280).

P. 157, l. 22. *Ne mercatores . . . transfretarent.* This seems to be an absurdly exaggerated version of an old ordinance forbidding the exportation without licence of corn and other victuals, which the Commons now asked, and the king consented, should be more stringently enforced (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 277).

P. 157, l. 24. *Singuli artes singulas . . . exercerent.* On the Commons complaining that the 'merchants called Grossers' were raising prices by engrossing all manner of merchandise, an ordinance was passed restricting every merchant to one commodity and every artificer to one mystery. Forfeiture of goods and fines were the penalties for infraction of the ordinance in the case of merchants, imprisonment and fine in the case of artificers. A machinery was prescribed for seeing that the ordinance was enforced (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 277-8, 280-1).

P. 157, l. 25. *nec pannis pretiosis . . . uterentur.* Reading summarizes in a single line a long ordinance which fixed a sliding scale of the prices that each class from husbandmen to knights might be allowed to pay for the cloth used in their dress, and strictly limited the right to wear the finer fabrics, furs, articles of gold and silver and jewels. The statement in the text seems to be justified by the first sentence in the third clause of the ordinance, which declares that no gentleman under the rank of knight, who does not possess land or rent to the value of £100 a year, shall (among other things) wear cloth of gold, silver or silk and furs (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 278, 281). But the clause goes on to allow the wearing of some of these articles to esquires who possess lands or rent to the value of *£200* a year and upwards. There appears to be an inconsistency here. However this may be, the St. Albans compiler does not mend matters by preferring to Reading's account of this ordinance a different one, which he took from the continuator of Murimuth (p. 198) who probably derived it through Malvern (*Polychron.*, VIII. 362) from the Eulogium (III, 232) or a common source. This version makes £40 a year the minimum income, for which there is certainly no authority in the ordinance, and the St. Albans writer actually reduces this figure to £10 (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 53). He probably took the ' l ' of xl as the initial of ' libras.'

Reading's comment on the failure of these ordinances may be compared with the frequent complaints of the ineffectiveness or ill-results of legislation to be found in the Rolls of Parliament.

P. 157, l. 28. *Operarii et agricultores cibis aut potibus delicatis vesci non deberent.* This probably refers to the early part of the first clause of the ordinance of apparel :

> " Qe Garceons, si bien Servants as Seigneurs come de Mestere et des Artificers, soient serviz de manger et de boire un foitz le jour de char on de pessoun, et le remenant d'autres Vitailles, come de let, formage, buire, et autres tieles Vitailles accordantz a lour estat" (*Roet. Parl.*, II, 278, 281).

P. 158, l. 2. *Statuta . . . prohibuerunt ne aliquis praeconizaret.* This account of attempts to prevent the proclamation of the unpopular ordinances by threats of violence and of the firm attitude of the government is not copied into the Chronicon Angliae. It seems unrecorded elsewhere, unless general commissions of oyer and terminer "touching all treasons, felonies, trespasses, conspiracies, confederations," etc., issued for the county of Hertford on 7 November and for Kent on 23 January, 1364, were directed in part against this recalcitrance (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1360-64, pp. 454-5). But though discontent was scotched it was not killed. Little more than a year later, in the parliament of January, 1365, the commons petitioned to be relieved of the restriction to the sale of a single commodity, which they alleged had raised prices one-third above their former figure, as well as from the limitations of their food and dress imposed by the ordinance passed in the last parliament. Whereupon the king made answer that they should be as free as they were before those ordinances were enacted. In reply to another petition free exportation of all merchandise, with a few exceptions, was allowed, any existing statute to the contrary notwithstanding (*Rot. Parl.,* II, 286).

P. 158, l. 7. *Venerunt insuper tres reges.* Peter of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, arrived in London on Monday, 6 November, 1363, and David Bruce, king of Scotland, exactly a week later (*Eulogium Historiarum,* III, 233) ; John II of France whose safe conduct was dated 10 December landed at Dover on Thursday, 4 January, 1364 (*Foedera,* III, 718; Froissart, ed. Luce, VI, xlvii, n. 3). The author of the Eulogium makes John arrive on the same day as Peter of Cyprus, whereas the latter had left England before the French king came. He asserts that before the parliamentary session ended there were five kings present in London, the fourth being the heathen king of 'Lecto' (see above p. 309), who accompanied his captor the king of Cyprus, and the fifth Edward himself. Such a gathering, he declared, had not been seen since king Arthur had entertained six tributary kings at Caerleon. This contemporary writer is as inaccurate in dating the end of the

session of parliament, which closed on 3 November before any of the kings arrived, as he is with regard to the time of John's arrival. Had he known that Waldemar, king of Denmark, received a safe conduct to come to England on 1 February, 1364 (*Foedera*, III, 719), he would no doubt have made a sixth in that November meeting of kings. The erroneous notion that the kings of Cyprus and of France were in England together is shared by Knighton (II, 118), and reappears in the circumstantial London story of the feast that Henry Picard the vintner gave to four kings and the prince of Wales—who was in Gascony (Stow, *Survey of London*, ed. Kingsford, I, 106, 240).

The king of Cyprus came to secure money and adhesions for the crusade; David of Scotland to stave off payment of his ransom by a secret treaty providing for the union of the two crowns of England and Scotland, if he died without heirs (27 November; *Foedera*, III, 715); and king John to secure, if possible, some modification of the harsh conditions of a treaty concluded in November, 1362, for the release of the four princes of the *fleur de lis* (see below p. 366). One French chronicler insinuates that he could not keep away from the pleasures of Edward's court (*Cont. of Will. of Nangis*, II, 333). His restless and inconstant nature no doubt had something to do with a resolution which was strongly deprecated by his advisers. For his progress from Dover to London see above p. 215. He is said to have dined with Edward III at Eltham on 24 (*rectius* 14) January and "upon ye afternoon he was honourably conueyed thorough the cytie of London unto Sauoye, as well by the cytezyns as other, the whiche mette with hym upon Blakheth well horsyd in a lyuerey of one coloure" (Fabyan, *Chron.*, ed. Ellis, p. 475; cf. *Grandes Chroniques*, VI, 229).

Reading's short paragraph recording the visit of the three kings is closely similar in wording to that in the ordinary continuation of the Polychronicon (VIII, 413-4; translated in the *Brut*, ed. Brie, p. 315). It is probable that in this as in other cases of the kind the continuator is the borrower. The account in the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 199), which is here the source followed in the Chronicon Anglie (p. 54), is certainly taken in the main from Reading though its author may also have had the Polychronicon before him.

P. 158, l. 13. *Rex Cipriae . . . depredatus fuit per latrones.* The story of the robbery of the king of Cyprus and its sequel is abbreviated from Reading by the St. Albans compiler, who omits the date and the measures of repression taken outside London

(*Chron. Angl.*, p. 54). It does not seem to be recorded elsewhere. There is a mandate however on the patent rolls which bears out the statement of the text as to the prevalence of robbery towards the close of 1363. Warin del Isle was sharply ordered to take better measures for the capture and destruction of malefactors, who lately lived by pillage and larceny in foreign parts, but now perpetrated outrages in the counties of Wilts, Berks, and Southampton; and owing to Warin's slackness had become bolder in their mischief, at which the king was very greatly disturbed and moved (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1361-4, p. 453). This order bears date 14 December, and it was apparently in the first fortnight of this month that Peter of Cyprus returned to France. Reading's date (1 November) is at least a month too early, and must perhaps be regarded as the result of a confusion between the beginning and the end of the king's visit. Peter was certainly in England as late as 24 November (Froissart, ed. Luce, VI, xlvi, n. 1). A French chronicler asserts that Peter hastened his departure because Edward III at dinner one day said to him : "Have you not undertaken the conquest of the Holy Land ? When you have conquered it, you ought to restore to me the kingdom of Cyprus which my ancestor Richard (I) entrusted to your predecessor to keep." The king of Cyprus pretended not to have heard this inhospitable remark, but left England immediately afterwards (*Chronique des Quatre Premiers Valois*, ed. Luce, p. 128).

To expedite the punishment of such highwaymen as had waylaid him the citizens of London were given power, perhaps only for the time being, to try such offenders and to hold gaol deliveries, without waiting for the coming of the royal judges, as had been hitherto usual.

The king's fate was not absolutely unprecedented in this reign; for six years before another distinguished foreigner, the cardinal of Rouen, had been stopped and robbed (Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer*, p. 169).

P. 158, l. 26. *Lite inter . . . Cicestriae antistitem et Ricardum comitem de Arundell.* Reading adds something to our knowledge of the obscure but embittered dispute with the earl of Arundel upon which bishop Lynn (or Lenne) embarked in the first year of his episcopate; with the result that he absented himself from his see during the greater part of his tenure of it. The original cause of quarrel is not known (Tierney, *Hist. of Arundel*, p. 238). Reading is the sole authority for the excommunication of the bishop by the Court of Arches, the archbishop's court, at an early stage of the affair, and for the drastic action which pope Urban

was induced to take in answer to this step. By letters dated from Avignon on 24 December, 1363, he annulled the sentence and promoted Lynn to the bishopric of London. His elevation was made possible by a series of translations, the opportunity for which was furnished by the death of Ralph of Shrewsbury, the much respected bishop of Bath and Wells, on the 14 August of this year. John Barnet, bishop of Worcester, was to be translated to the vacant see, Simon of Sudbury was to go from London to Worcester to make way for Lynn, whose place at Chichester was destined for Thomas Trilleck who had been appointed dean of St. Paul's only a few months before (in April : Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Angl.*, II, 312). The removal of Sudbury to an inferior see would seem to imply that he had identified himself with the proceedings against Lynn. But neither Lynn nor the Londoners were content to accept this solution. The citizens supplicated the pope to leave them the bishop they had, and Lynn who made it a point of honour to remain at Chichester and fight his quarrel with Arundel to an end, obtained a reluctant permission from the king to go to Avignon—where, as has been seen, he had been auditor of the Curia before his appointment to a bishopric—in the hope of inducing Urban to cancel his translation. He nominated attorneys to act for him during a year's absence on 5 December (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1361-4, p. 425). The pope yielded in both cases and on 6 March, 1364, translated William Wittlesey, bishop of Rochester, to Worcester, and provided dean Trilleck to the see thus set free (Le Neve, *op. cit.* I, 58; II, 564). It is perhaps significant of the strained relations between Edward III and the pope that Trilleck, though consecrated (at Avignon) in the following May, did not obtain possession of the temporalities of his see until February, 1365.

Lynn's stay at the papal court was extended to more than three years by his persistence in pursuing his quarrel with Arundel, in which he had the warm support of the pope. The citation of the earl to the papal court in 1365, in defiance of the statute of Praemunire, so provoked Edward III that Lynn, who ignored a summons to answer for his conduct, was convicted in the king's court of having incurred the penalties of Praemunire. The temporalities of the see of Chichester were seized and the bishop's goods and chattels forfeited (Tierney, *op cit.* p. 239; from Placita, 39 Edw. III, rot. 29). In the course of the following year, however, a more conciliatory attitude must have been taken up in some quarter, for on 3 February, 1367, Lynn is reported to be returning to England at the king's command (*Cal. Close Rolls*, 1364-8, p. 321). He was translated to Worcester in 1368 and died in 1373.

In this case Reading's special information is not found in the Chronicon Angliae (p. 54), the compiler of which preferred a paragraph in the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 199), probably taken from Malvern (*Polychron.*, VIII, 364), which records merely the ultimate episcopal changes.

P. 159, l. 22. *Obiit . . . Elizabetha, ducissa Clarenciae.* Elizabeth de Burgh, only daughter and heiress of the third earl of Ulster, had been married to Lionel (afterwards) duke of Clarence who was six years her junior, when he was a boy of four or less. She died in 1363, æt. 31, and was buried at Clare Priory in Suffolk. cf. Knighton, II, 119.

P. 159, l. 25. *Morina . . . et caristia bladi.* The St. Albans compiler omits the murrain and substitutes *summa* (load) for *quarteriun* frumenti (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 54).

P. 159, l. 27. *Generale capitulum ordinis Sancti Benedicti.* This passage supplies the missing date for at least part of those constitutions issued during Thomas de la Mare's presidency of the general chapter at Northampton, which are printed in the Gesta Abbatum S. Albani, II, 449 sqq. In taking over this entry from our chronicle the compiler of the Chronicon Angliae (p. 54) omitted the date. The following is the full text of the constitution referred to by Reading:

"Praeterea, quia nondum pro vivis, quin amplius pro defunctis, eo quod extra statum meriti constitutis, precum instantia, devotionum suffragia, potissime requiruntur; ideo ut faciamus assidue specialem memoriam defunctorum adjicimus, ordinantes, ut qui virtute constitutionis olim editae in nostro Provinciali Capitulo, ad horas diei preces omiserunt antiquitus usitatas, de cetero in singulis Horis diei ac noctis, praeterquam in Prima et Completorio, finita Oratione Dominica ante Collectam habeant istas preces: 'Salvos fac servos et ancillas tuas,'—'Oremus pro fidelibus defunctis,' ac—'Dominus vobiscum,' et sic tam pro vivis quam mortuis orationis beneficium jugiter impendamus" (*Gesta Abbatum*, II, 450-1). Reading expresses a preference for this constitution over the severe disciplinary ordinances which had made De la Mare "venerated by all and feared by many" (*ibid.* p. 403).

P. 160, l. 11. *Feriam sive mercatum pro forma statutorum ultimi parliamenti.* No other record seems to exist of the active steps taken by the king during his Christmas residence at Windsor to secure the enforcement of the statutes (more correctly ordinances) passed in the late parliament, in dismissing which he had

expressed through the chancellor his personal desire that the ordinance of Apparel should be carefully observed (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 280). The St. Albans compiler confines himself to the bare fact of the visit to Windsor. Reading's reference to a 'fair or market' is obscure, but is perhaps a picturesque description of the unusual bustle and the variety of persons present.

P. 160, l. 18. *Forte gelu.* The great frost of 1363-4 lasted nearly sixteen weeks (30 November—19 March) according to Reading, followed, as it seems, by the ordinary continuation of the Polychronicon (VIII, 414)—which, however, omits its interference with agriculture and manual work. For this reason the Brut (p. 315) translates Reading in preference to the Polychronicon. Other accounts shortened the duration of the frost by a week (*Cont. Murim.*, p. 199=*Chron. Angl.*, p. 54) or more (*Eulogium*, p. 232). It was said to have been the hardest for a century (*ibid*). On the continent it killed large numbers of olives, vines and fig-trees (*ibid.*; Lavisse, *Hist. de France*, IV, 1, 161). The Rhone was frozen over at Avignon and the Meuse at Liége (Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium*, I, 368, 402).

P. 160, l. 23. *Abbas de Bello.* On 4 May, 1364, a pardon was granted, at the request of the abbot of Battle, to Robert Koc of Castle Hedlingham in Essex, who had been convicted before the steward of the marshalsea of the household of stealing property worth 10s. at Lewisham when the king was there, and sentenced to be hung (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1361-4, p. 494). The privilege asserted by the abbot is mentioned in the chronicle of the house, where it is attributed to a grant of William the Conqueror (*Chronicon Monasterii de Bello*, p. 24). Nothing is said in the pardon of a judicial confirmation of his 'liberty,' which, it is added in authorities otherwise closely similar in wording to Reading, gave great annoyance to the king and the magnates (*Cont. Polychr.*, VIII, 414; *Cont. Murim.*, p. 199; *Chron. Angl.*, p. 55).

P. 161, l. 1. *Longobardi et quidam comes Londoniensis* Reading's account of this affair seems to be independent of that given with little more than verbal differences in the Eulogium (p. 234), the continuations of the Polychronicon (VIII, 414) and Murimuth (p. 200) and the Chronicon Angliae (p. 55). The Westminster writer alone supplies the exact date of the pardon and the precise nature of the offences of which these Lombard merchants had been guilty, viz. clipping the coin and exporting wool without paying the custom, as also the fact that they had a London accomplice. From the other version we learn that they were imprisoned in the

Tower, and the Eulogium adds that they were reported to have defrauded the king of 3,000l. a year.

P. 161, l. 8. *Cecidere grandines.* This destructive hail-storm does not appear to be recorded elsewhere.

P. 161, l. 12. *Discordiam inter majores et populares Londoniarum.* There was a riot in the city on Thursday, 1 August, in this year. It would seem to have assumed some magnitude, for on the Monday following the aldermen were ordered to hold an enquiry into the disturbance, each in his wardmote, and to keep the peace (*Letter Book G,* ed. Sharpe, p. 168). On the same Monday John de Hakford, tailor and bedel, accused Richard Hay, a fuller, of an attempt in the previous week to enlist him in a plot, in which 10,000 men in the city were said to be engaged, to slay "all the best people and the great folks and officers of the said city" (Riley, *Memorials of London,* pp. 315-6). As a jury acquitted Hay and Hakford was imprisoned and pilloried for a false charge, his disclosures must be viewed with suspicion but, in view of the actual disturbances of the 1 August, it is impossible to dismiss them as mere fiction. Reference was made in the course of the trial to an occasion on which the people of London were with the king at Havering-atte-Bower—perhaps to present a petition. Reading's statement that royal guards were set in the city until peace was restored is unconfirmed, but under the circumstances such a step is not improbable.

In the municipal politics of London there were so many cross currents that it would be dangerous to regard the outbreak as the expression of a single grievance. There may be significance in the fact that John Northampton, presumably the future leader of the popular party in the city, became surety for Hakford when he was released before the expiration of his sentence (Riley, *u.s.*). Nevertheless the determining cause of the disturbances was probably that assigned by Reading, the grant of charters which were contrary to the interests of the commonalty. The trouble seems to have arisen from the ordinance too hastily passed in the parliament of 1363, which attempted to stop merchants who did not confine themselves to any one commodity from engrossing and holding up merchandise, by restricting all traders to a single class of wares (above p. 157). In July, 1364, charters reciting this ordinance were granted to the fishmongers, vintners and other crafts, forbidding anyone to meddle in their trade unless he were enfranchised in their mistery (*Letter Book G,* pp. 167, 169, 174). If the reason given in the Rolls of Parliament (II, 286) for the repeal of the ordinance in January, 1365, viz. that the traders,

whom it had freed from competition outside their gild, had raised prices by a third, be anywhere near the truth, it is not difficult to understand the outcry which arose at once against so dangerous a monopoly of necessaries like fish and wine. This explanation of the disturbances in London referred to by Reading, finds support in a clause of the petition presented by the commonalty of the city to the mayor and aldermen early in December. While asserting the principle that no citizen should keep a shop and sell by retail any goods but those which belonged to his mistery, the petitioners asked that wholesale dealers should have liberty to buy and sell any manner of merchandise on which they could make a profit (*Letter Book G,* pp. 179-180; cf. p. 187). This amounted to a request for the repeal of the ordinance of 1363, at all events as far as it affected the wholesale trade, and the mayor and aldermen (who may have known that such a step was in contemplation) reserved their answer to this part of the petition. The rescission of the ordinance a month or two later, after it had been in force for little more than twelve months, attests the strength of the opposition which it had aroused.

P. 161, l. 18. *Avorye in Britannia.* Charles of Blois marched from Guingamp to relieve Auray in southern Brittany, but both town and castle had fallen before his arrival (Froissart, ed. Luce, VI, lxxi, n. 3). Sir John Chandos was the principal commander on the Anglo-Breton side, but the presence of lord Latimer, who was Montfort's lieutenant in the duchy, is confirmed by Guillaume de St. André (*Chron. de Jean IV,* apud Cuvelier, II, 459). Reading's chief omission in the list of Charles of Blois' followers is that of Bertrand du Guesclin. His estimate of their forces is in pretty close agreement with the figure given by the French chroniclers, who put their number at about 4,000 men, but his figure for Montfort's army (1,600) is two hundred lower even than that of Guillaume de St. André (*op. cit.* p. 463), and only half that of Froissart, one of whose informants was Windsor Herald (Froissart, ed. Luce, VI, lxx-lxxi). It is agreed however that the Franco-Bretons had the advantage in numbers. This they threw away, as at Poitiers, by their disorderly impetuosity (cf. *ibid.* p. lxxiii). Some of their troops fled during the fighting, being friendly to Montfort (*Chron. des Quatre Premiers Valois,* p. 161). Hence the battle, which was fought on Sunday, 29 September, ended in a complete victory for Montfort, whose rival was among the slain. This was the end of the war of the Breton succession. The treaty of Guérande, which established John of Montfort as undisputed duke of Brittany, was signed on 12 April, 1365.

Reading's estimate of the Franco-Breton losses (excluding foot-

men), viz. : 900 killed and 1,529 taken, is no doubt exaggerated, and we can hardly believe that only seven men were slain on the side of the victors. The Chronique Normande (p. 176) gives 1,200 as the total killed and taken prisoners on the losing side. The names of thirty are given by the Canterbury chronicler (see above p. 219). It is a curious coincidence that the counts of Auxerre and Joigny, who had been captured in the skirmish at La Chaboterie just before Poitiers eight years before, should again have found themselves fellow-prisoners. Reading's account of Auray is somewhat abbreviated in the Chronicon Angliae (p. 55). To judge by the reappearance of the seven men killed on the winning side, it is also the source of the brief notice in the ordinary continuation of the Polychronicon (VIII, 414). This in its turn was copied by the continuator of Murimuth (pp. 199-200) and translated by the compiler of the Brut (pp. 315-6).

P. 162, l. 15. *Johannis Copland nuper ibidem interfecti.* This notice (omitted by the St. Albans compiler) of the proceedings taken by Joan, widow of John de Coupland, the captor of David Bruce at the battle of Neville's Cross, against certain leading persons of the north for the murder of her husband, and of their subsequent counter proceedings, is confirmed in the main by entries in the Patent and Close Rolls. Together they throw some much-needed light upon an episode which is left very dark by the Rev. John Hodgson in his article on Coupland Castle (*Gent. Mag.*, July, Aug., 1822) and by Mr. Robert White in his short biography of Coupland appended to an article on Neville's Cross (*Archaeologia Aeliana*, 2nd ser. (1857), I, 293 sqq.). Coupland's fortune had been made by his capture of the Scottish king. He was created a knight banneret (though curiously enough he seems never to be described as a knight in documents) with an annuity of £500, in lieu of which he received the moiety of the barony of Kendal known as the Richmond Fee (*Foedera*, III, 102), and he rose to the highest offices on the Scottish border. At various times he was constable of Roxburgh castle, sheriff of Roxburghshire, sheriff of Northumberland (1350-1356), warden of Berwick. and one of the wardens of East March. He was slain with Nicholas Bagot of Newcastle-upon-Tyne at Bolton Moor, near Alnwick, on 20 December, 1362 (*Hist. of Northumberland*, I, 239; Knighton, II, 117; *Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1361-4, pp. 453-4). The murder was committed by John de Clifford of Ellingham, near Alnwick, Henry de Lucker of Lucker near Bamburgh, and other men of the district. No motive is assigned, but charges of complicity were brought against local knights by Coupland's widow and her brother, Henry del Strother, sheriff of the county. It was not,

however, until a year after the deed that a commission issued to Henry de Percy and others on 28 December, 1363, to discover and arrest the malefactors who slew Coupland and Bagot (*ibid.* p. 453). The commission was widened in January and May, 1364, to include other felonies committed in Northumberland (*ibid.* pp. 454, 539).

Two years later Joan de Coupland received a grant of all the lands which had belonged to John de Clifford. Clifford is described as the king's enemy, who had forfeited his estates by riding at war within the realm, slaying John de Coupland, and adhering to the Scots (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1364-7, p. 200). The knights referred to by Reading as implicated were chiefly members of the family of Heron of Ford Castle, who were near neighbours of Coupland in north Northumberland. On 28 November, 1364, Sir John Heron, Sir William Heron, and his son Sir Roger, and John Heron esquire with Sir William de Lilleburn and Nicholas de Raymes, magnates of the same county, were committed to custody in various castles in the south of England (*Cal. Close Rolls,* 1364-8, pp. 84-5, 150). The motives under which they were supposed to have acted are not stated, and unfortunately there is no record on the rolls of the parliament of January, 1365, of the turning of the tables mentioned in the text when the prisoners were released and brought an accusation against their prosecutors. But the fact of such a counter-accusation is confirmed by an agreement of 15 Sept., 1366, in which Sir William Heron and his son Sir Roger released all plaints, trespasses and actions against Joan, widow of Coupland, Sir Thomas de Grey, Sir Alan de Heton, Henry del Strother and others, named and unnamed, who had sued with Joan against the evildoers who slew Coupland or those who harboured them, against those appointed by the king to make enquiry touching his death and against others who indicted the said evildoers or aided the said Joan's suit to punish them (*ibid.* p. 292). The affair was perhaps part of a local feud but, in spite of the new information put at our disposal, it still remains involved in some obscurity.

P. 162, l. 21. *Obitus domini Johannis quondam regis.* The day of John II's death was not Tuesday, 9 April, as here stated but Monday, the 8th (*Grandes Chroniques,* VI, 229; Knighton, II, 119). A transcriber probably copied V. Id. Apr. for VI Id. Apr. The Canterbury chronicler gives an interesting account of John's illness and funeral, with an itinerary of the progress of his embalmed remains from London to Dover (above p. 216 and note; cf. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer,* p. 183).

The wording of this passage in the ordinary continuation of the Polychronicon (cf. Add. MS. 10,104 and Harl. MS. 1,729) seems transitional between Reading and the Continuation of Murimuth (p. 200)

which is the source in this instance of the Chronicon Angliae (p. 54).

P. 163, l. 5. *Obierunt abbas Malmesburiensis,* etc. A strange case of misdating. Simon de Aumeney died, probably of the plague, in 1361. His successor, Walter de Camme, whose election received the royal assent on 4 November in that year, remained abbot until 1396 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1361-4, pp. 85, 93, 115). The explanation of Reading's error may be that an obituary note, intended to be inserted under 1361, was misplaced, and this view is perhaps strengthened by his mention of "plures bellicosi" who "ut praedicitur" died in the same year, for he has not spoken of any such deaths in 1364 unless the reference is to the seven men said to have been slain at Auray. But seven could hardly be described as "plures."

It is curious that in the 'Brief Chronicle' appended to the Eulogium Historiarum and written at Malmesbury itself the death of Aumeney and election of Camme (dated 31 October) are placed under 1362, though the mention of the Dominical Letter C. shows that this was a year too late (*Eulog.,* III, 313).

P. 163, l. 9. *Sacerdos latro.* I have failed to find any other record of the killing of a priest who attempted a robbery of the jewels of the king and queen in the bishop of Durham's house near Westminster. Durham's House occupied the site on which the arches supporting Adelphi Terrace now stand. According to Knighton (II. 120) robbery and theft were very generally prevalent in this year. He gives instances of sacrilegious theft, including an attempt, which failed, at his own abbey of Leicester. The activity of the judges on circuit, noted by Reading, is doubtless accounted for by this state of things.

P. 163, l. 15. *Celebrato Natali Domini apud Wyndelesoram.* See Cal. Close Rolls, 1364-68, p. 42. The St. Albans compiler, for the first time, omits to copy the mention of the place where the king spent Christmas. For his independence of Reading henceforth see Introduction, p. 2.

P. 163, l. 16. *Parliamentum.* Reading is correct in stating that the session of 1365 closed on (Monday) 17 February, but he is two days out with regard to the opening day. This was Monday, 20 January, though the houses did not proceed to business until the following day (*Rot. Parl.,* II, 283, 288). By a curious slip Stubbs gives 28 February as the last day of this parliament (*Const. Hist.,* II, 413).

P. 163, l. 19. *Ob inconstantiam consiliariorum*. Reading's criticism may possibly have some reference to the withdrawal, on the petition of the Commons, of certain ordinances passed in the previous parliament, especially that restricting merchants and artisans to one trade (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 286). But these enactments had been to a certain extent experimental (*ibid.* p. 280), and the actual point on which Reading arraigns the inconstancy of the king's councillors is the new statute of Praemunire passed in this session, or rather those clauses of it which reinforced the provisors legislation of 1351 (*ibid.* pp. 284-5). His case is that papal provision secured the appointment of suitable and literate bishops. The implication that without such intervention unfit persons would be appointed to bishoprics was not unfair in view of such cases as that of Robert de Stretton (above p. 277), in which the crown showed more anxiety to provide for a deserving official than to consult the spiritual interests of the diocese.

The chief advisers of the king at this time were, it may be well to mention, Simon de Langham, bishop of Ely, who was chancellor, and John Barnet, bishop of Worcester, the treasurer.

P. 163, l. 27. *Denarium Sancti Petri*. Reading is the only original authority for a decision in the parliament of 1365 to withhold payment of Peter's pence. It is not mentioned on the rolls. Stubbs however accepted the statement though without knowing its ultimate source (*Const. Hist.*, II, 415). He found it in Barnes' History of Edward III (p. 670). It is one of a number of passages taken by Barnes from the Corpus Christi manuscript of the Brut chronicle which are merely translations from Reading (see above p. 51, and *The Brut*, ed. Brie (E.E.T.S.), p. 316). As the Brut's dates are here a year out, Barnes followed by Stubbs was misled into associating the alleged withholding of Peter's pence with the final repudiation, in the parliament of 1366, of the tribute to the papacy incurred by king John (below p. 335). Its ascription to this year by Caxton in his continuation of the Polychronicon (ed. Lumby, VIII, 525), suggests that the Brut was his source. Fabyan (p. 477) quotes him for the repudiation, but seems also to have used the Brut itself. The decision to discontinue the payment of Peter's pence, if actually taken in 1365, was not ultimately carried into effect. The accounts of the papal collectors show, indeed, at this period arrears longer and more general even than was usually the case; but the whole sum due for 1365 was paid over by 1370 (O. Jensen, in *Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.*, XV (1901), pp. 226 sqq.). In the first parliament of Richard II the Commons raised the

question whether it should be paid or not, but the answer they received was that no change should be made (*Rot. Parl.*, III, 21).

The origin of the impost known as Peter's pence (Rome-fee, Rome-penny, Hearth-penny, Rome-scot) remains obscure. The ascription of its first establishment to Ine, king of Wessex (688-726), is not traceable beyond the twelfth century tract De Primo Adventu Saxonum printed with the historical writings of Symeon of Durham (Rolls Ser., II, 371), while William of Malmesbury attributes it to Ethelwulf, father of Alfred (*Gesta Regum*, I, 109), and some modern writers to Offa of Mercia on the strength of a payment he made to Rome (Stubbs, *Const. Hist.*, I, 230). Reading's source seems to have been ultimately Roger of Wendover (Eng. Hist. Soc., I, 215-6), who is the oldest authority extant for the assertion that Ine founded the Schola Saxonum or Anglorum at Rome (attributed by Malmesbury to Offa) and instituted Peter's pence for its support. Wendover's narrative is incorporated bodily in the Westminster Flores Historiarum (Rolls Ser., I, 368-9), whence Reading probably derived his brief allusion to the origin of the payment. This supposition is supported by the fact that in the Flores the beginning of Ine's reign follows an account of Caedwalla's baptism at Rome dated 689, which Reading may have taken as the year of Ine's accession (*ibid.* I, 345). The dropping of an X, common enough in writing Roman numerals, would then produce the false date (679) which he gives for that event.

A French scholar, M. Paul Fabre, in an article entitled Recherches sur le Denier de Saint Pierre en Angleterre au moyen Age, has attempted to reconcile the conflicting statements with regard to the establishment of Peter's pence on the assumption that Ine and Offa imposed the due upon Wessex and Mercia respectively, and that, after West Saxon supremacy was recognised by the Mercians, Ethelwulf's donations to Rome were incorporated with this older payment (*Recueil de Travaux publiés par l'Ecole Française de Rome*, XII (1892), 159-182). But Mr. W. H. Stevenson rejects the whole story of the foundation of the Schola Saxonum by an English king and of its endowment with Peter's pence as based upon a misapprehension of the meaning of *schola*. The Schola Saxonum was not a school but the body of the English Saxons resident in Rome, and like the similar *scholae* of other foreigners it formed a unit in the military organization of Rome (Asser's *Life of Alfred*, pp. 211, 243-7). By the twelfth century, however, the Schola had acquired a building to which its name became attached and on which, now or later, part of the moneys received from England was spent (*ibid.* p. 211, n. 2).

Dr. Jensen sees the origin of Peter's pence in the 300 marks

which Ethelwulf undertook to send annually to Rome, for the use of the pope and the churches of St. Peter and St. Paul, but which (he holds) was first assessed upon the people under Alfred (*op. cit.* pp. 180-3, 186-8). He lays stress upon the fact that the sum paid to Rome under this head in the later middle ages was 299 marks.

P. 164, l. 4. *Natus est domino Edwardo . . . masculus.* Some doubt has hitherto been felt as to the year of the birth of Edward, the elder son of the Black Prince and Joan of Kent, whose early death opened the way for the tragic destiny of his younger brother Richard. A certain ambiguity in the chronology of the author of the Eulogium at this point (p. 236) led Malvern to place the event definitely in 1364, and this seemed confirmed by the statement originated by the continuator of the Polychronicon (VIII, 415) that the boy was in his seventh year when he died just before his father returned to England early in January, 1371 (Chandos Herald, ed. Pope and Lodge, p. 126; Froissart, ed. Luce, VIII, x). He could not have completed his sixth year if he was born late in January, 1365, and this threw doubt upon the accuracy of the continuator of Murimuth and the St. Albans compilers, who (without giving the month) place his birth in this year. But convincing proof exists that Reading, from whom they derived their date, is right and Malvern and the ordinary Polychronicon continuation wrong. For on 14 March, 1365, Charles V credited Jehan l'Uissier with 300 francs for presents, which he and his queen had made to an esquire of the prince of Wales, who brought the news of the birth of his first son (Delisle, *Mandements de Charles V* (Docs. Inédits) (1874), No. 198, p. 90; quoted by Moisant, *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine,* p. 149, but without correcting the date of the order to the new style).

The day of the month on which the child was born has always been given as 27 January on the authority of the Eulogium. But though the Canterbury chronicler, who does not seem to have used that work, concurs in giving this date (above p. 222), it is almost certainly a day late. The author of the Eulogium himself excites suspicion of its accuracy by adding that it was Sunday (*prima die hebdomadae*). The 27th of January, 1365, however, fell on a Monday, and as Reading's date is 26 January, there is an overwhelming probability that the Eulogium is right as to the day of the week, but made a slip in the day of the month. A possible explanation of its mistake is suggested by the fact that the next entry below contains the date 27 July (hence, no doubt, the date 27 July, 1364, given by the writer of the life of the Black Prince

in the *Dict. of Nat. Biogr.*, as the day of his elder son's birth!). A much worse case of assimilating the date of an entry to another which was to be inserted immediately after, occurs a few pages earlier (p. 232), where the chronicler sets down the date of the arrival in England of the king of Cyprus as the day on which the king of France came, though John II did not actually arrive until nearly two months later.

The Brut here (p. 316) gives Reading's date for the birth of the young Edward, but adds his age at death from the Polychronicon. This addition omits the comment found in the later and fuller continuation which was used by the continuator of Murimuth: "sed non praemature, ut plurimi asserebant" (Addit. MS. 10,104, f. 152). The meaning of this remark is not very clear, unless it belongs to a time when the enemies of Richard II would not have hesitated to assert that his path to the throne had been cleared by the removal of his elder brother.

P. 164, l. 16. *Prohibitum . . . ne aliqui transmearent nisi de licentia regis speciali.* Reading seems the only authority for this attempt, soon abandoned, to limit the number of persons leaving the realm and subject them to watchful scrutiny by royal officials, with the object of preventing the exportation of gold and silver and the evasion of the acts of Provisors and Praemunire, as well as of reducing the toll of life and property taken by the sea. A royal order of 28 July in this year, ordering the authorities of Calais and Ponthieu to search persons coming from England, for gold, silver, or papal bulls, would hardly have been necessary had the precautions referred to been at that time enforced at the English ports (*Foedera,* III, 775). cf. Piers Plowman, ed. Skeat, A. 111-116 and note.

P. 164, l. 23. *Quia juratores . . . plures decipiebant.* By a statute passed in the parliament which met on 24 January, 1361, jurors convicted of taking anything from a plaintiff or defendant, to influence their verdict, were to be punished by fine and imprisonment for a year (Stat. 34 Edw. III, c. viii; *Stat. of the Realm,* I, 366). In the parliament of January-February, 1365, this statute was emended in three points, only the first of which is noted by Reading: (1) The amount of the fine was fixed at ten times the sum accepted by the erring juror, and imprisonment was limited to cases in which his goods and chattels did not suffice to meet the fine; (2) all who undertook to bring about or procure such corrupt inquests for gain or profit were to be subject to the same penalties as the jurors; (3) the implication of the first statute, that proceedings for such corruption of justice could only be instituted by one

of the parties to the case for which the jury was summoned, or by some other non-official person, was reinforced by a specific statement that it was not the intention of the king, lords and commons that such proceedings should be taken by any justice or minister *ex officio* (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 287-8; *Stat. of Realm*, I, 384, where the editors date the act 1363-4 instead of 1364-5). There is no such provision in either statute for the permanent exclusion from all juries of persons convicted of the offence in question, as Reading asserts to have formed part of the second, but incapacitation may have been the rule in practice.

P. 165, l. 2. *Avinionem . . . dominus Karolus imperator ingressus.* This appears to be the most detailed account that we have of the entry of the emperor Charles IV into Avignon on Friday, 23 May, 1365. Reading, who has already shown special knowledge of events at the papal court (above p. 152), must have obtained it from an eyewitness, possibly from one of his fellow-monks who had been sent on convent business to the Curia. Some of his most curious details, the live eagle for instance, are absent from the description of the scene collected from the Liber introitus et exitus Camere Apostolice and other sources by the latest historian of Charles IV, who gives a larger figure, 800, for the number of cavaliers in the emperor's train (E. Werunsky, *Gesch. Kaiser Karls IV*, III (1892), 322). As Charles arrived from Pont de Sorgues, the first church on the route from the Porte St. Lazare to the papal palace, in which he vested himself for his meeting with Urban, would probably be St. Symphorien. The 'duke' who bore the imperial sword before him was Amadeus, count of Savoy, and the eight marquises and counts, who supported a canopy worked in gold over the emperor and the two cardinals (Guy de Boulogne, cardinal bishop of Porto, and William de la Jugie, cardinal of St. Maria in Cosmedin, who had met him near Pont de Sorgues), were the most distinguished barons of the kingdom of Burgundy. Werunsky says that Urban himself, surrounded by the whole body of cardinals, received his guest on the steps of the palace, but if we may believe Reading's informant, Charles was met at the gate by the cardinals only, and conducted by them into the presence of the pope.

The main object of the emperor's visit was to discuss with Urban the steps necessary to put a stop to the ravages of the companies in France, Burgundy and Italy, in order to clear the way for the return of the pope to Rome and for the prosecution of the crusade against the Turks, which was to have begun in this year (Werunsky, *op. cit.* III, 311 sqq.). Charles was also anxious to counteract the designs of the French king upon the old kingdom of Burgundy, and leaving Avignon on Monday, 2 June, he had himself crowned in

St. Trophimus, at Arles, on the 4th. After which he returned to Avignon and remained in consultation with the pope until the 9th, when he finally took his leave (*ibid.* pp. 327-8; Baluze, *Vitae paparum Avenionensium,* I, 404, cf. 370).

P. 166, l. 19. *Superior fieret triplex conjunctio.* In astrology, two planets were said to be in conjunction when they were in the same sign of the zodiac, and such conjunctions were supposed to portend prosperity or misfortune for mankind according to the influence, good or ill, ascribed to the planets concerned. The influence of Mars, and still more that of Saturn, was malignant, and three conjunctions within the same number of months, in which each figured twice, were held to be portents of disaster. For contemporary ascription of pestilence, sudden death and wet seasons to Saturn, see Piers Plowman, ed. Skeat, I, 225; II, 118. A calculation of the significance of the third conjunction mentioned by Reading, said to have been made at Oxford in 1357 by William Rede, afterwards bishop of Chichester, is in Bodl. MS. Digby, 176, f. 34 (see *Dict. Nat. Biogr.,* XLVII, 375). On the question whether Reading correctly estimates the rarity of the triple conjunction which he records, I have consulted Professor Arthur Schuster, who kindly writes: "The phenomenon referred to would not now, I believe, be called a 'conjunction,' but it is clear what the author means. As regards Jupiter and Saturn, the event occurs about every 17 years, and as regards Mars and Jupiter every 2¼ years. If the two events happen within one year, the third almost inevitably follows. The three events *could* fall together approximately within one year about every 100 years, but if they miss—which is quite probable—we should have to wait another 100 years; so that the author's statement, that the coincidence had not happened for 200 years, is quite likely to be correct."

This, however, might be called almost a common occurrence compared with the 'great conjunction' of Jupiter and Saturn in the sign of Aquarius, which is said to have taken place in 1345. Simon de Covino, a doctor of Paris and a great astrologer, in a curious Latin poem printed by Littré in 1847 and entitled De Judicio Solis in Convivio Saturni, declares that this conjunction does not happen more than once in 900 years, and attributes to its malign influence the Black Death of 1348-9 (*Bibliothéque de l'école des Chartes,* II, 201-243).

P. 167, l. 2. *Pestilentia non praevisa.* I have not found any other record of an outbreak of plague in England in 1365, but it was raging abroad. At Cologne 22,000 persons are said to have died in four months, doubtless an exaggerated estimate (Baluze,

Vit. pap. Avenionensium, I, 404). The Brut (p. 316) has a curious mistranslation of Reading's *praevisa* : "nevere non such was sene in no mannes tyme alyve."

P. 167, l. 4. *Morbillae quae Anglice dicuntur 'Pokkes.'* The term was applied to diseases in which pustules were a marked feature, especially smallpox. For *morbillae* see Ducange s.v. *Morbillus*. The Brut has 'men and *women*' instead of 'men and *animals* '

P. 167, l. 8. *Monasterium Radyngi . . . laceravit.* This is one of the entries which suggest that the chronicler took a special interest in the town from which he derived his name. See Introduction, p. 11.

P. 167, l. 11. *Alienigenarum insaniae indumentorum varietate semper adhaerens.* This denunciation of the eccentricities of men's dress about 1365 should be compared with the more general description of the fashions of a time twenty years earlier, given in the preceding continuation of the Westminster chronicle (above p 88), and with the violent attack upon the articles of male attire singled out by Reading, which is introduced into the Eulogium (pp. 230-1) under the year 1362 After describing the new super-tunic, called a ' Gown,' which viewed from the back made the wearer look more like a woman than a man, a novelty unnoticed by Reading, the monk of Malmesbury inveighs, as he does and in very similar terms, against the small hoods buttoned tightly under the chin (*modo mulierum*) with a long streamer behind falling to the heels, the doublet and the tight hose of motley (*paltok* and *caligae*) and the 'beaked' or piked shoes which were known as ' crakowes.' He alone mentions the gold and silver girdles worn by many who could ill-afford such extravagance, but, on the other hand, says nothing of the long daggers dangling between their legs and the caps shaped like hose or sleeves, with which Reading concludes his enumeration of the perversities of contemporary fashion. Illustrations of most of them will be found in Fairholt's Costume in England (1860), Planché's Cyclopædia of Costume (1876) and the volume of plates published with Johnes' translation of Froissart's Chronicles.

P. 167, l. 13. *Caputiis parvulis.* It seems to be implied that these hoods were so small that they were not drawn over the head for protection against sun and rain, but, like their surviving representative the academic hood, merely covered the shoulders. The ' tipet ' or, as it was more generally termed, the ' liripipe,' was a

prolongation of the bag of the hood in the shape of a cord or streamer, which fell down the back sometimes to the heels. When the hood was drawn over the head, the tipet was sometimes wound round the upper part, to get it out of the way. It was so worn by Simkin in the Reeve's Tale (Chaucer's Works, ed. Skeat, IV, l. 3,953).

P. 167, l. 15. *Paltoks . . . caligis.* The 'Paltok' was a short jacket of silk or woollen cloth which did not reach the loins, and was attached to the closely-fitting hose (*caligae*) by latchets or points, which in derision of the character of the wearers were popularly called harlots, gadlings or lorels (losels), all of which were current words for a worthless idle fellow, a rascal (see the glossaries to Skeat's editions of Piers the Plowman and Chaucer; a different application of 'gadling' in its secondary sense is found in Baker, p. 113). The derivation of 'Paltok' is discussed in the New Eng. Dict., s.v. Paltock, and in Way's note to the word in the Promptorium Parvulorum (Camden Soc.), p. 380.

According to the author of the Eulogium, the 'paltok' was more suitable for ecclesiastical than for lay wear, and with this opinion some have compared Langland's lines :

> Proude preostes cam with hym passend an hundred;
> In paltokes and pikede shoes and pissares longe knuyues.
>
> Piers Plowman, ed. Skeat, C. XXIII, 218-9.

But the allusion here seems to be to the military form of the 'paltok' (see Way, *u.s.*).

The tight hose worn with this doublet made bending difficult and kneeling almost impossible. Reading's strictures on this point are echoed in a satirical poem of 1388, quoted in Social England (II, 427) :

> "A strayth bende hath here hose
> *laqueant ad corpora crura;*
> They may noght, I suppose,
> *curvare genu sine cura;*
> Qwen oder men knelys,
> *pia Christo vota ferentes,*
> Thei stond at here helys,
> *sua non curvare valentes,*
> For hortyng of here hose
> *non inclinare laborant;*
> I trow, for here long toos,
> *dum stant ferialiter orant.*"

P. 167, l. 20. *Sotularibus . . . rostratis.* Haydon has drawn attention to the mention by the monk of Malmesbury (*Eulogium,*

III, xlii, 231) of the peaked shoes, called 'crakowes,' nearly thirty years before the date at which their introduction from the continent is usually placed. If the word 'crakowes' is correctly derived from the Polish town of Cracow, it seems probable that the fashion, like that of the *cote-hardie*, was brought to England from Germany, either directly or through France.

P. 168, l. 5. *De clericidio in universitate Oxoniensi.* This was probably the town and gown riot, for his share in which Thomas de Williamescote, knight, received a pardon on 22 January, 1366 (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1364-7, p. 197).

P. 168, l. 6. *Morte abbatum de Bello et Thorneye.* Robert de Bello, abbot of Battle, seems to have died in 1364, not long after his successful assertion of his privilege of obtaining the pardon of condemned criminals (Leland, *Collectanea*, VI, 179; above p. 168). William Haddon, LL.D., who had been abbot of Thorney since 1347, died in 1365 (Leland, *op. cit.* VI, 224).

P. 168, l. 7. *Ricardi de la Vache.* Sir Richard de la Vache, knight of the garter and constable of the Tower of London, died between the 29 December, 1365, and 29 January, 1366, on which latter date the custody of the Tower was committed to Sir Alan Buxhull (*Cal Close Rolls*, 1364-8, p. 209; Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, p. 106).

P. 168, l. 10. *Robertus de Elingham, sub-decanus palatii regis.* The long-continued disputes between the monks of Westminster and the clergy of the free chapel of St. Stephen within the palace dated from 1347-8, when Edward III completed the old chapel and made it collegiate. The monks claimed the jurisdiction of the ordinary over it as lying within their parish of St. Margaret, but royal favour enabled the dean and canons to secure a "furtive and uncanonical" exemption for themselves and other members of the foundation (Flete, *Hist. of Westm. Abbey*, ed. Armitage-Robinson, p. 136; *Polychron.*, IX, 204). Not content with which, it is alleged by the abbey historians, they put forward fresh and wider pretensions. Towards the end of the reign the abbey carried the matter to the papal court, and under Richard II the quarrel accordingly grew much exacerbated. In 1383 the temporalities of the abbey were sequestrated for a time, and six years later the abbot only averted a renewal of this step by timely submission (*ibid*, pp. 18, 203). A settlement was mediated later in the reign. For a further reference to the dispute by Reading see below p. 345.

Of the three persons named by Reading as refusing, when it

came to the point, to take advantage of St. Stephen's exemption from the abbey's right of sepulture, nothing seems to be known about Elingham and Weston.

Thomas de Stapleford, who was chaplain of a chapel by the receipt of the exchequer and was given a prebend in the new chapel, to which this was annexed before 1356, received on 21 September, 1354, the appointment of clerk of the king's works in the Tower of London and at the Palace of Westminster (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1354-8, pp. 104, 430).

P. 168, l. 26. *Consilium coeptum secundo Idus Januarii.* This meeting of the royal council on 12 January, 1366, is, like several earlier ones, unnoticed except by Reading, who, living at Westminster, had of course good opportunities of observing them. It was in this council that orders were issued for the removal of Adam Bury from the mayoralty of London (see below).

P. 169, l. 1. *Rubor nimius totum firmamentum contexuit.* The celestial phenomenon described as occurring between sunset on the 12th and sunrise on the 13th of January was most probably the aurora borealis. Another meteoric phenomenon was noted at dawn on 22 October of this year (*Eulogium Historiarum*, III, 240). The editor of the Eulogium suggests that a longer notice, introduced shortly after with a new date, 8 October (p. 241), is merely a fuller and corrected description of the same appearance. But the extract which he quotes from some unnamed foreign chronicler, in the note on p. xlix, confirms the occurrence of such a phenomenon on 22 October. So that, if the date in the second passage is not erroneous, there were two visitations of the kind in October.

P. 169, l. 9. *Adam de Bury, tunc major Londoniarum.* This entry is valuable as throwing the only light that has yet appeared (though it is a broken light) upon a very obscure episode in the municipal history of London. Hitherto, all that was known was the bare fact that Adam Bury, skinner, after being re-elected mayor for a second term in October, 1365, was removed from office on 28 January, 1366, " per praeceptum Domini Regis," and John Lovekin, fishmonger, elected in his place (*Letter Book G*, p. 205; *Chronicles of London*, ed. Kingsford, p. 14). Unluckily, Reading does not tell us the reason of Bury's deposition; but the strong opposition which it provoked among the ' populares,' and the selection of his successor by a limited electoral body of 200 (?) along with the aldermen, a procedure which it was proposed to make permanent, suggest that it was not unconnected with that antagonism between the "majores" and "populares" of the city

which had provoked royal intervention as recently as 1364 (see above p. 161). Whether the charge afterwards brought against Bury in the Good Parliament, of dishonesty in the testing of the gold paid for the ransom of John of France, was already advanced in 1366, it is impossible to say. See, however, the Addenda above.

The order for Bury's removal had been issued, Reading says, in the council which met on 12 January. On hearing of this the commons rose, drew the reluctant Bury from his house, and installed him in the official seat in the Guild Hall, upholding his cause and shouting that they would have no other mayor but him. In this excited state of mind they issued from the hall and came very near to bloodshed. On cooling down, however, they seem to have recognised their powerlessness to oppose the will of the king, and a new mayor was elected on the 28 January by the aldermen and twenty men chosen from each ward. Reading gives the total number of the ward representatives as 200, but, as there were twenty-four wards, either his total or the quota from each ward must be misstated. If the former was the case, 'ducenti' is an error, we may suppose, for 'quingenti.'

Bury retired abroad for a short time, until by judicious expenditure among the courtiers he recovered the royal favour. Ten years later, when confronted with the charge adverted to above, he lost no time in crossing to Flanders, "fleeing, like the wicked man, when none pursued," says the St. Albans chronicler, who evidently regarded him as a friend of John of Gaunt and bestowed on him a portion of his hatred of the duke (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 94). He was removed from his aldermanry and deprived of the freedom of the city (Letter Book H, pp. 38, 44). But with his golden key he once more found his way back to England, was restored to citizen rights, and dying in 1386 was buried in St. Paul's.

P. 170, l. 3. *Parliamentum apud Westmonasterium.* The short session of 1366 opened on Monday, 4 May, the morrow of the Invention of the Holy Cross, and closed on the following Monday (*Rot. Parl.*, II, 289-290). By a slip, Stubbs gives Tuesday, 12 May, as the closing day (*Const. Hist.*, 2nd ed., II, 413). The summons, besides those "accustomed to be present," of a number of persons having an income of £40 a year, is unnoticed by any other chronicler. The chancellor's brief speech, as reported on the roll of the parliament (II, 289), contains no reference to the military enquiry, for which this exceptional element was, according to Reading, summoned.

It is, perhaps, only a coincidence that on 6 February preceding, the sheriffs were ordered to proclaim that all persons possessing £40 a year were to assume knighthood (*Fœdera*, III, 786).

P. 170, l. 7. *Quot homines armorum . . . pro expulsione hostili haberet.* The fact of this proposed enquiry (for which certain holders of lands with an income of £40 a year were summoned to parliament) into the number of men it would be possible to raise from lands held by scutage, on a basis of one man per fifteen librates, is only mentioned by Reading. My friend Mr. A. E. Prince, who is engaged upon a study of Edward III's army, informs me that he has not, as yet, found any reference to such an enquiry in the records of this date. Reading, however, is hardly likely to have invented it. It recalls the recruiting devices of the years before Crécy, and, in taking feudal holdings as a basis, finds a direct precedent in an inquest ordered in 1343 and described by Baker (pp. 75-6) :

> " Eodem anno committebatur escaetoribus regis inquirere et certificare concilium regis, qui ad valorem centum solidorum vel supra de ipso in capite seu de quocumque feodalia tenerent, et eorum nomina in scriptis notificare."

Both these enquiries, being limited to lands held by military service, were of narrower scope than the expedient resorted to in 1344-46, of making a graduated levy upon all lands irrespective of tenure, which excited so much protest (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1343-45, pp. 414, 427; Murimuth, Rolls Ser., p. 192).

The king's desire, in May, 1366, to ascertain what forces could be raised by the feudal tenants in case of war, may reasonably be attributed, at least in part, to the disquieting news from Spain. The invasion of Castile, by Henry of Trastamara and his mercenary army, threatened to disturb the *status quo.* It was no doubt known in England that Henry had been proclaimed king at Calahorra on 22 March, though the news of Pedro's evacuation of Burgos and his brother's coronation (5 April) can hardly, perhaps, have reached this country when the writs of summons for parliament were issued.

Possible eventualities of the refusal of the papal tribute (below p. 335) may also have suggested the desirability of being prepared for war.

P. 170, l. 16. *Fratres ordinis Sancti Runcivalle.* This hospital, founded by William Marshal II, earl of Pembroke, in 1222, was the only English cell of the famous monastery of Our Lady of Roncesvalles in the Pyrenees, twenty-six miles from Pampeluna in Navarre. It was suppressed as an alien house after 1432, but revived as a fraternity in 1476 (Stowe, *Survey of London,* ed. Kingsford, II, 374; Tanner, *Notitia Monastica* (1787), Middlesex, No. 44).

Reading's reference to the brethren's alleged forgery of a bull

of indulgence, in order to raise more money for their new buildings, betrays a neighbourly dislike, the hospital occupying part of the site of the present Northumberland Avenue. There is an excellent view of its buildings, as they stood in 1543, in Wyngaerde's Panorama (Mitton, *Maps of Old London,* 1908).

The royal confirmation of the possessions and privileges of the house in 1366 seems, like the charge of forgery, to be nowhere else recorded.

P. 170, l. 25. *Dominus de Courcy.* Enguerrand (Ingelramus) VII, sire de Couci, grandson on the mother's side of Leopold, duke of Austria, and Amadeus, count of Savoy, had become very popular when a hostage in England for king John (1360-1365), and recovered lands in the north of England which he claimed through his great-grandmother, Christina Balliol, niece of John Balliol, king of Scotland. On 27 July, 1365, he married at Windsor the king's eldest daughter, Isabella, then thirty-two or thirty-three years of age, and five or six years his senior (see above p. 80). Political marriages had at various times been arranged or proposed for her with half a dozen foreign rulers, including Louis, count of Flanders (who ran away a few days before the wedding), and the emperor Charles IV. In the end, Edward allowed his daughter to marry the man of her own choice, since "solum pro amore voluit desponsari" (*Polychronicon,* in Addit. MS. 10,104, f. 152, followed by Malvern (ed. Lumby, VIII, 365)).

On 11 May, 1366, before dissolving parliament, Edward obtained its consent to the creation of an earldom for his son-in-law. The place from which he was to take his title was said not to have been settled as yet, and parliament left the selection to the king (*Rot. Parl.,* II, 209-1). Nevertheless, the charter of creation bears date the same day. Perhaps it was thought wise not to mention the title proposed, in case objections might be raised.

P. 170, l. 30. *Comes Annoniae jus in eo* [i.e. *comitatu Cantabrug-giae*] *vendicavit.* Reading's count of Hainault was Albert, duke of Bavaria, regent for his insane brother William, count of Holland, Zealand and Hainault; duke Albert received a safe-conduct to come to England on 15 May (*Foedera,* III, 789). The assertion of the text, that he came to claim the earldom of Cambridge in parliament, though the king's son Edmund had held it for four years, and returned satisfied, is certainly wrong as to the date of his visit, and also as to its result, if Reading's words mean that his claim was admitted. His safe-conduct bore a date four days after the dissolution of parliament and arranged for his arriving at Michaelmas and staying not later than Candlemas, 1367. Edmund

of Langley continued to enjoy the title of earl of Cambridge. It becomes a question whether any claim to it was advanced by duke Albert. The safe-conduct merely states that he was coming to put an end to certain disputes between king Edward and himself, touching lands which belonged to queen Philippa (the duke's aunt) by hereditary or other right. Lands in the Low Countries are obviously meant. It is true that on the mother's side Albert and his brother were nephews of William, marquess and afterwards duke of Juliers (d. 1361), Philippa's brother-in-law, who was created earl of Cambridge on 7 May, 1340, and retained the title as late as 1353. But William of Juliers had left male issue, so that no claim of right could be based on this connexion. Another ground of claim suggested by a statement, to which the Elizabethan antiquary Camden gave considerable currency, that Albert's great-uncle, John of Hainault had been earl of Cambridge, proves baseless on examination (*Britannia,* ed. 1607, p. 363). The only authority that has ever been discovered for Camden's assertion, is a passage in Geoffrey le Baker, according to which Edward gave that earldom to John in 1342 (Baker, pp. 72, 247). But this is one of Baker's confusions, as William of Juliers was unquestionably earl of Cambridge at that date. It appears then, that, if Albert really put forward a claim to the earldom, he had no case. There is the possibility, however, that Reading or public rumour, ignorant of the true object of his visit, invented one based upon his relationship to William of Juliers, in spite of the fact that William's son and successor visited England in this very summer (*Foedera,* III, 793).

Camden, in the passage referred to above, quotes from Reading a portion of the entry under discussion, without, however, naming its author (see Introduction, p. 23).

P. 171, l. 6. *Argenti concessi . . . papae Innocentio . . . solutionem annullare.* Urban V's retort to the new act of Praemunire, passed in 1365, was a demand for payment of arrears of the tribute of 1,000 marks which king John had undertaken should be rendered for ever to the Holy See, but which had not been paid since 1333 (*Trans. Roy. Hist. Soc.,* XV (1901), 189). If it were still withheld, he threatened to begin a process for its recovery. The three estates in the parliament of 1366 ignored this menace, unanimously agreed that John had no right to place his people under such subjection without their consent, and promised Edward their utmost support in resisting any action that the pope might take against him (*Rot. Parl.,* II, 290; Makower, *Const. Hist. of the English Church,* Eng. tr., p. 42).

The knights (Reading thought they should have been clerks),

who carried this defiant answer to Avignon, were apparently Sir Bartholomew de Burghersh and Sir Richard de Stafford, who, with Thomas de Bukton and John de Carlton received on 1 August a verbal answer to carry back to their master (*Foedera*, III, 798).

P. 171, l. 10. *Civitates . . . domino Lancastriae ab olim virtute nuptiali pertinentes.* If Reading correctly reports the instructions of Edward's ambassadors, they were to counter the pope's threats to take action for the recovery of the tribute, now definitely repudiated, by reviving the old claim of Henry III's queen, Eleanor of Provence, to certain cities and rights in the county of Provence. This claim she had transferred to her grandson, Thomas of Lancaster (Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, pp. 89 sqq.) His nephew, the first duke of Lancaster, is said by one authority to have put forward his claim at the coronation of Charles IV at Rome on 3 April, 1355 (*Scalacronica*, in Leland, *Collectanea*, I, 562). The pretension is wrongly traced here to his grandmother, Blanche of Navarre. John of Gaunt, as will be seen later (below p. 354), took his hereditary claim seriously, obtained a royal confirmation of his rights on 30 October of this year, and in the summer of 1367, after the English victory at Najera, was believed to be preparing an invasion of Provence to enforce them.

P. 171, l. 14. *Magna classis Danorum in mari boreali.* This strange story of a Danish naval descent upon the English coast in June, 1366, and the capture of the steward of Denmark and other magnates, is one of the few passages in Reading's chronicle during these years which the compiler of the Brut (p. 317) selected for translation. It thus became known to Barnes, who incorporated it under the false date 1367, given by his source, in his History of Edward III (p. 717). But neither he nor any subsequent historian seems to have realised the difficulties which it raises.

It sounds incredible that the king of Denmark, Waldemar III (Atterdag), should, without warning, have sent a fleet to attack England, and the apparent absence of any corroboration of Reading's story, in either English or Danish sources, has a highly suspicious look. Yet Waldemar's sudden seizure and sack of Wisby five years before, in a time of perfect peace, warn us not to attach too much importance to the first argument. The English sources, at least for this period, leave much to be desired on the score of completeness, and so circumstantial a narrative by a contemporary writer, who, inaccurate and credulous though he often is, has not been convicted in any other case of imagining events which never happened, cannot be at once dismissed as an idle fiction. The more so, because there is evidence that Waldemar,

at an earlier date, did actually contemplate a naval attack upon England. Extraordinarily ambitious and self-willed, he seems to have cherished fantastic schemes of building up a great European power. About 1353 he is said to have sought the hand of a daughter of John II of France for his son, offering in return, on payment of 600,000 florins, to land 12,000 men in England. His object, as reported in France, was to recover the English kingdom as his rightful inheritance from the "good duke of Normandy" who conquered it, since which his ancestors had been ousted. There is probably some confusion here between Cnut and William the Conqueror. News of this project coming to Edward's III's ears, he shattered it by forming a series of alliances with the count of Holstein and other local opponents of Waldemar. He renewed the offer to the regent Charles in 1359, undertaking to rescue the captive John. The project attracted Charles as a counterbalance to the invasion of France which Edward had in preparation; but, failing to raise the money Waldemar asked for, he abandoned the scheme before it had been embodied in a formal treaty (Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte und König Waldemar von Dänemark* (1879), pp. 154-156, quoting Schiern, *Om en paataenkt Landgang i England af Kong Waldemar Atterdag in Forening med de Franske,* Annaler for nord. Oldkyndighed og Historie, 1858 (separately pub. 1860); Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V,* II, 95-6, 102). It is only known to us from French sources, but, as it was never carried out, the silence of the English and Danish records is not surprising.

The existence of this earlier plan of invasion does, to some extent, diminish the initial improbability of Reading's story of an actual Danish attack upon England in 1366. But it is far from removing all difficulties. The circumstances were very different in 1366 from what they had been in 1353 and 1359. Waldemar had now (as far as we know) no foreign ally, and no prospect of a subsidy to defray the heavy cost of such an expedition. He had made peace with the count of Holstein on 7 July, 1365, and on 3 September brought his first war with the Hanse towns to an end by the treaty of Wordingberg. But this was to free his hands for an invasion of Sweden, which he was pressing with vigour in June, 1366, when his fleet is alleged by Reading to have attacked England (Schäfer, *op. cit.* pp. 383-384, 411-414). The time seems a most unlikely one for an unprovoked invasion of a powerful kingdom, whose undivided resources were available for its repulse. It is open, indeed, to anyone to conjecture that Waldemar, during his visit to France and Avignon in 1364, had entered into some new secret engagement with Charles V, but there is not a scrap of positive evidence for such an assumption. Nor can anything

be fairly built upon the fact that Waldemar, after obtaining a safe-conduct to visit England on 1 February in that year, failed to carry out his intention (*Foedera,* III, 719). It would be equally unsafe to see an expectation of Danish invasion in the steps taken in the May parliament of 1366, to ascertain the forces which could be brought to bear against a hostile attack (above p. 333). The *prima facie* case against the truth of Reading's story is therefore extremely strong. Nevertheless, to reject it altogether would only create fresh difficulties. We must wait for more evidence to clear up the mystery. It is not impossible, for instance, that a Danish squadron, operating against Albert of Sweden, was driven by a storm across the North Sea and taken by the English for an enemy. The one undoubted fact at our disposal, however, is the safe-conduct given to an envoy from Waldemar in January, 1367, and the object of his mission is, unfortunately, not stated (see below p 347). It would be rash to conclude that it was some English-speaking member of his suite who left upon the wall of his lodging the taunting line, which may be modernised :

"Yet shall Danes waste these dwellings" (*wanes*),

under which an Englishman wrote a rhyming rejoinder to the effect that

"Here shall Danes get their death" (*fett hir banes*).

P. 172, l. 1. *Humfridus comes Herfordiae.* If Humphrey de Bohun, who was 25 years of age in 1366, set out to join the crusade against the heathen Lithuanians, as Reading states, he must have been speedily recalled. For, on 30 July, he was appointed head of the embassy sent to Milan to negotiate a marriage between Lionel, duke of Clarence, and Violanta, daughter of Gian Galeazzo Visconti (*Fœdera,* III, 797).

P. 172, l. 2. *Famosis gestis militaribus . . . comitis Werwikiae.* There is a want of agreement among the writers who have touched upon the movements of Thomas Beauchamp, the third earl of Warwick, between the years 1363 and 1366. He went to Gascony with the newly-created prince of Aquitaine in February, 1363, and returned to England, Reading says, on 19 May, 1366, in which case the further statement, that he arrived in time to attend parliament, must be a mistake, for the session ended eight days before. John Rous (d. 1491), who in his account of the earls of Warwick (Hearne, *Hist. Ricardi II,* App., p. 233), and Historia Regum Angliae (ed. Hearne, p. 204), tells the story of the baptism of the son of the king of Lettowe (*Lectoniae*), was seemingly ignorant of Warwick's stay in Gascony, for he speaks of his warring for three years against the heathen. This statement is repeated by Dugdale

(*Baronage,* I, 233), though he could not plead ignorance of the Gascon episode, and by Beltz (*Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, p. 26). As a matter of fact, it would seem that Warwick's crusading adventures were not of much more than a year's duration, and it is certain that they did not begin in any case before the middle of 1364. The time was then supposed to be close at hand, when Peter, king of Cyprus, would return home, with the money and reinforcements he had obtained in Europe (see above p. 312), to conduct the crusade, which pope Urban had preached against the Mahometan foes of the christian kingdoms of Cyprus and the lesser Armenia. Warwick announced his intention of joining the crusade. On 8 May the pope wrote to Amadeus, count of Savoy, asking a safe-conduct through his dominions for the earl and his English companions; on 3 June he sent a letter to the doge of Venice, commending the party to his care (*Cal. Pap. Letters,* IV, 9, 10). To the same period doubtless belongs the safe-conduct, quoted by Dugdale (*u.s.*), without date, from an original in the possession of the earl of Elgin, which the governor of Dauphiné and the Viennois granted at the request of Urban to Warwick and a retinue of 300 horsemen. It is probable that the earl did not make use of these passports, perhaps because the king of Cyprus delayed his departure until June, 1365. Warwick seems still to have been in Gascony in November, 1364 (*Fœdera,* III, 754). Bishop Stubbs, indeed, thought that he preceded Peter to the East (*Lectures on Medieval and Modern History,* p. 194). This opinion, however, had no more solid foundation than an assumption that the son of the king of 'Lettow' must have been taken prisoner in a battle against the infidels, recorded by the author of the Eulogium Historiarum; in which that king is said to have been one of the heathen leaders and the date of which is given (probably incorrectly) by the editor of this chronicle as 1 November, 1364 (see above p. 307).

Warwick did not accompany Peter of Cyprus, when at last he tore himself away from the attractions of European courts. Abandoning that idea, the earl turned his attention to quite a different quarter, and the only one in which he could have captured a son of the king of Lithuania. On 17 November, 1365 pope Urban acknowledged the reception of envoys and letters from Warwick, and commended his discretion and devotion in taking the cross, whether he went to the Holy Land *or against the pagans in Prussia* (*Cal. Pap. Letters,* IV, 19). This must have been a retrospective approval, since Warwick seems to have spent, if not the whole, at least the greater part of 1365 in Prussia and Lithuania (Hirsch, *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum,* II, 548). Among other operations, he took part in the capture of Wilna in the late summer of this year (*ibid.*

II, 550-1). There is no confirmation in the Prussian writers of the story of the son of the king of Lithuania, to whom he stood sponsor, and who accompanied him back to England. He was present at the baptism of Waydot or Butaw, son of Kynstut, king of Lithuania, at Königsberg, in July, 1365 (*ibid.* and III, 84), but Waydot was baptized under the name of Henry, and cannot in any case be the person indicated by Reading. A possible solution of the difficulty would be that Warwick brought home with him a convert of less rank, who was popularly misdescribed as a son of the Lithuanian king. This may alse be the explanation of a similar story told of Peter of Cyprus (see above p. 309).

Rous' account of Warwick's adventures may have been ultimately based upon Reading, but his (incorrect) estimate of their duration, and the statement that Warwick's godson soon learnt English, are in that case additions.

P. 172, l. 13. *Petrus rex Hispaniae.* What follows is the fullest English version of the events which led to the invasion of Spain, by the Black Prince, to restore Peter the Cruel, and his victory at Najera. Its details however, where new, do not always command implicit confidence. For modern accounts see Barnes, Hist. of Edward III, pp. 674 sqq : ; Armitage-Smith, John of Gaunt, pp. 33 sqq. ; Chandos Herald's Life of the Black Prince, ed. Pope and Lodge, pp. 198 sqq.

P. 172, l. 14. *Quia Saracenam duxerat.* The St. Albans compiler, who follows some other source, says : "cum quadam Judaea foemina miscuisset" (*Chron. Angl.*, p. 57). The story of Peter's Moorish or Jewish wife (or mistress) does not seem to occur in the Spanish and French authorities. In his will (1362) he mentions four mistresses, whose names are all Spanish (Froissart, ed. Luce, VI, lxxxv). Reading qualifies the statement with a "prout dicebatur" and perhaps its only basis was Peter's notorious friendship with Jews and Moors. This was the main offence which brought down upon him the papal excommunication (Chandos Herald, p. 199; Cuvelier, *Chron. de Bertran du Guesclin,* ed. Charrière, I, 241-2). Nevertheless, the adventure of Peter with the Jewess at Seville, related by Cuvelier (I, 338), if true, suggests that there may have been some less formal connexion of the kind than Reading's words would presuppose.

P. 172, l. 21. *Reges Naveriae et Malogriae.* Reading misapprehends the motives of Charles of Navarre and James of Majorca and the part they played in these events. They only came on the scene after Peter had landed in Gascony from Corunna (Armitage-

Smith, *op. cit.* p. 42, n. 1). The king of Navarre exacted great territorial concessions and a heavy subsidy, before consenting to open the passes of the Pyrenees to the army, which was to restore Peter, and join him with a Navarrese contingent. As for the poor king of Majorca, he could not very well have been afraid that the pope might deprive him too of his kingdom, since he had never been in possession of it. He hoped that, as Peter of Aragon, who had wrested it from his father, was an ally of Henry of Trastamara, a successful expedition in behalf of Peter the Cruel would enable him to recover his own throne.

P. 172, l. 26. *Jure hereditario propinquiores.* This suggestion, that in a certain event Edward III, the grandson of Eleanor of Castile, and his issue would have the best claim to Peter's throne, appears in the Canterbury chronicle (above p. 223) as an actual offer to recognise the Black Prince as his heir. It is not, however, mentioned by the other authorities, unless the vague language of Chandos Herald, reporting the substance of Peter's appeal to the prince (ll. 1873-4), can bear such a construction. Froissart is silent on the point, though he mentions an offer of Peter to make the prince's son Edward, king of Galicia (Froissart, ed. Luce, VI, 203; misprinted Castile in pref., p. lxxxvi).

P. 173, l. 6. *Ab inquietudine . . . ecclesiam Deique servos . . . liberans.* In the tenor of this panegyric of the prince, in the reluctance to oppose the authority of the pope which Reading ascribes to him, and in the promise of reform he is said to have extorted from king Peter, we may detect the divided feelings with which churchmen brought themselves to approve the championship of the cause of a ruler who had incurred the severest censures of the head of the church.

For other eulogies of the Black Prince see Chandos Herald, ed. Pope and Lodge, pp. 2-3, and Chronicon Angliae, pp. 91-2.

P. 173, l. 19. *Diu renuit consentire.* No such hesitation, on the part of the Black Prince, is mentioned by Chandos Herald or Froissart. The latter indeed, who was on the spot and gives the fullest account of these events, represents the prince as welcoming the fugitive Peter with a warmth which could only leave one meaning, and as overriding certain counsellors who represented that his misfortunes were merely the divine punishment for his crimes (Froissart, ed. Luce, VI, 199, 201-2). The political menace involved in the substitution of a French for an English ally upon the throne of Castile weighed heavily with the prince, and "two other motives powerfully inclined him to support Don Pedro—

his feeling for royalty and his feeling for legitimate birth" (Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt,* p. 40). Some delay was however entailed by the consultation of the Gascon barons and by the necessary reference to Edward III.

P. 173, l. 20. *Intermissis patri literis.* These were carried, Froissart says, by four knights (Roger) lord de la Warre, Sir Nigel Loring and two Gascons, John and Elie de Pumiers (Froissart, ed. Luce, VI, 205). In a council at Westminster (not a parliament as Luce makes it, p. lxxxix), it was decided that Peter should be supported and the four knights returned with letters in that sense to the prince and his guest (*ibid.* p. 206).

P. 174, l. 6. *Coram convocato consilio.* On the return of the messengers with Edward III's decision, it was submitted to an assembly of the barons of Aquitaine. They consented to give their services in an invasion of Spain, on receiving guarantees that their wages would be paid (Froissart, ed. Luce, VI, 207-8). Another council was summoned to Bayonne for the convenience of a meeting with Charles of Navarre (*ibid.* pp. 208-9), The treaty concluded there between the prince and the kings of Castile and Navarre, was ratified, along with Peter's numerous engagements, at Libourne on 23 September (*Fœdera,* III, 799-807).

As the council referred to by Reading met before the exiled king's quarrel had been definitely taken up (*ante manucaptam querelam*), it seems to correspond to the first of the assemblies mentioned by Froissart; but there is no evidence (see next note) that any such oath as is here described was exacted from Peter.

P. 174, l. 7. *Regem depositum terribili innodavit sacramento.* This assertion, that the Black Prince only undertook to restore Peter to his throne on his binding himself by a solemn oath to amend his life and government, especially in regard to the church, finds no confirmation in our other authorities. It looks like a clerical attempt to meet an obvious objection to the righteousness of the war. Reading, it will be noticed, entirely ignores the territorial concessions which both the prince and the king of Navarre insisted upon, as a condition of their support.

P. 174, l. 30. *Dux Lancastriae . . . ad partes Acquitannicas se viriliter paravit.* It is curious that neither Reading, Froissart nor Chandos Herald mention a brief previous visit of Lancaster to Gascony, which has been inferred from the appearance of his name among the witnesses of the treaty of Libourne, signed on 23 September, and from records of preparations for his departure a

week earlier. On 16 September orders were issued to arrest ships for his passage and commissioners were appointed to provide 400 archers to accompany him to Gascony (Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt,* p. 41, from Carte, *Rot. Gasc.,* I, 154; *Fœdera,* III, 799). These orders, one of which was directed to the constable of Richmond Castle, could not have been executed in a day or two. It is therefore difficult to understand how Lancaster could have been at Libourne on the 23rd. Mr. Armitage-Smith's assumption, that he accompanied the envoys who took back to the Black Prince Edward's decision in favour of Peter, is certainly incompatible with a departure from England after 16 September, if Froissart is right in interposing two assemblies and the negotiations with Charles of Navarre between the return of the envoys to Bordeaux and the signature of the treaty of Libourne.

Supposing it to be possible that the duke's attestation of the treaty was antedated, and he only made one journey to Gascony in the later months of 1366, Reading's reference to a delay caused by a land-dispute (otherwise unknown) with Edward Despenser, lord of Glamorgan, would sufficiently explain the issue of a second order to seize (20) ships for his passage, dated 20 October (*Fœdera,* III, 810). The date of his final departure is variously stated. Reading's "immediately after Michaelmas" is clearly too early. Mr. Armitage-Smith says that he left at the beginning of November —after the 5th, when he was still in London (*op. cit.* p. 43). Mr. Hunt, in the Dictionary of National Biography, puts his sailing as late as 5 January, 1367, which implies that he made the long overland march from Brittany to Bayonne in eight days. This date proves to be based on a mistranslation of Froissart by Barnes (p. 696). Froissart states in his first edition that Lancaster had landed at Saint Mahieu de Fine Poterne (i.e. Finisterre) in Brittany "*quinze* jours" before his brother, the prince, left Bordeaux for Dax on 10 January (ed. Luce, VII, 2); Barnes turned this into '*five* days.' But Froissart's real date is still too late. Lancaster had certainly sailed before 16 December, and the Captal de Buch entertained him at Genest, near Avranches, at some time prior to 22 December (*Cal. Close Rolls,* 1364-8, p. 258; Froissart, ed. Luce, VI, lxxviii). The latter fact makes it extremely unlikely that the duke landed at the far western point of Brittany (as Froissart says he did) and confirms the statement of Chandos Herald, which Froissart afterwards adopted in his second edition (*ibid.* VII, 259), that he disembarked in the Cotentin.

P. 175, l. 12. *Duae aquilae.* It would be hazardous to attempt any suggestion of the significance which was attached to this portent and those which follow it—all of which are translated by

the compiler of the Brut (ed. Brie, p. 319). But we may suspect that they were connected in the minds of contemporaries with events in Spain.

P. 175, l. 17. *Stellae . . . e coelo ceciderunt.* These falling stars of 31 October, 1366, which burnt the clothing and hair of those who were on the roads when they fell, seem to have been showers of aerolites. The date was one at which, in the fourteenth century, the phenomenon now known as "November meteors" might occur.

P. 176, l. 21. *Archipresbyter . . . lancea periit perforatus.* Arnaud de Cervole, a celebrated *routier,* the deprived archiprêtre of Velines, in the diocese of Perigueux, roused discontent in his company by projecting an eastern expedition against the Turks, and was killed by one of his soldiers, between Lyons and Mâcon, on 25 May, 1366 (Denifle, *Désolation des églises de la France,* II, 1, 491; cf. *ibid.* p. 188 sqq).

P. 176, l. 24. *Vacante sede Cantuariensi.* Archbishop Islip died on 26 April, 1366, according to 'Birchington' (*Anglia Sacra,* I, 46). Reading puts his death a day later, but as he died about midnight, the divergence is easily accounted for. Of the four prelates whom Reading enumerates as dividing the suffrages of the chapter, 'Birchington' only mentions William Edington, bishop of Winchester, the king's candidate, upon whom they ultimately agreed on 8 May, but who refused nomination on the ground of his infirmities and died a few months later (Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl. Anglicanae,* I, 19; *Polychron.,* VIII, 366). For William Lynn, bishop of Chichester, who in February of this year was sent by Urban V on a mission to Peter the Cruel of Castile (Barnes, *Hist. of Edward III,* p. 674), see Reading's account of the origin of the litigation which, as stated here, he was carrying on at Avignon (above p. 158). William Wittlesey, bishop of Worcester, who also was mentioned for the vacancy, became archbishop on Langham's resignation in 1368.

Langham, at this time bishop of Ely and chancellor of the realm, was translated to Canterbury by papal provision on 24 July, 1366, and enthroned on 25 March, 1367 (Le Neve, *loc. cit.*).

Reading's review of the great and rapid rise of his former fellow-monk from the 10 April, 1349, when he was chosen prior of Westminster to his appointment to the highest office in the English church, was probably the original of the similar notice carried on to his death and inserted at the date of his appointment as abbot, which appears in one of the continuations of the Polychronicon (Arundel MS. 86, f. 121; Addit. MS. 10,104, f. 150), from which it passed into the continuation of Murimuth (p. 181) and the Chronicon Angliae (p. 28).

There are some slips in the dates given in this brief biographical retrospect. The year of Langham's appointment as prior and then abbot of Westminster was 1349 not 1350 the jubilee year, and the second of these promotions was made on the 27th not the 17th May. It was more than ten years from this date until he became treasurer on 21 November, 1360, and his appointment as chancellor did not take place "about Michaelmas, 1362," the year of his promotion to the see of Ely, but on 19 February, 1363 (*Cal. Close Rolls,* 1360-4, p. 514).

P. 178, l. 1. *Defuncto Willelmo de Edyndton.* For the various dates in the first half of October, to which bishop Edington's death has been assigned, and for his munificent gifts to his native village of Edington and to his cathedral, see the Dictionary of National Biography (XVI, 386-7).

The somewhat mysterious allusion to the stealthy removal of St. James the Apostle and Stephen the Protomartyr from the obedience of St. Peter of Westminster by Edington, when treasurer (1345-60) and chancellor (1360-3), refers to the abbey's disputed claims to jurisdiction over the hospital of St. James (see above p. 86) and the chapel of St. Stephen in the palace (see above p. 330). In the former quarrel Edington, as treasurer of England, had been its rival. The treasurers asserted jurisdiction over the hospital in right of their office, and, at least in Edington's time, appointed the wardens (Flete, *Hist. of Westm. Abbey,* p. 125; *Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1354-8, p. 74). On the other hand, the monks declared that the position thus established had no better foundation than the fact that abbots Richard Berking (1222-1246) and Richard Ware (1258-1283), who were proved to have exercised this jurisdiction, were also treasurers.

Edington's connexion with the dispute over the privileges of St. Stephen's chapel is less obvious. Possibly it arose out of the appropriation to the dean and canons of the old chapel by the receipt of the exchequer, to which the treasurer for the time being used to collate (see above p. 331). In compensation for this right, the king granted to Edington and his successors in the office of treasurer, that they should collate to one of the prebends of St. Stephen's (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1354-8, p. 430).

P. 178, l. 10. *Willelmo Wikham.* Reading's words "relictis dignioribus praeelectis" must mean that the pope had intended to appoint some more distinguished ecclesiastic than the keeper of the privy seal to the vacant see of Winchester, not that his provision of Wykeham overrode the choice of the chapter. For the monks of St. Swithin had accepted the king's nominee without

demur. Urban held out for nine months, not granting the bull of provision until 14 July, 1367. Wykeham's qualifications for a bishopric were not apparently challenged, as those of former royal servants like Stratton and Buckingham had been. The pope's motives are not altogether clear, but it is not unlikely that the anti-papal legislation of 1365-6 provoked him to stand upon his right of reservation, and only yield when the king had been shown that such measures involved uncomfortable consequences (*Dict. of Nat. Biog.*, LXIII, 226). The insinuation of the phrase "literis aureis" was perhaps not without foundation, though it need not be supposed that Urban himself was directly accessible to such arguments.

Reading's outburst against Wykeham's appointment voices a feeling in clerical circles, often expressed in the chronicles of the time, that bishoprics were too commonly made the reward of purely secular work in the service of the crown (cf. Addit. MS. 10,104, f. 151; *Polychron.*, VIII, 359-360).

P. 178, l. 21. *Adeo crevere latrones.* For the prevalence of robbery during the years of peace, which was in part due to the return of old soldiers from France, see above pp. 147, 158, and Knighton, II, 120, who also emphasises the addiction of these thieves to sacrilege. Reading had evidently seen the grant of protection to the informer, Hugh de Lavenham, for his date is exact. On 20 January, 1367, letters of protection until Easter were granted to Lavenham at Westminster, on the information of the steward of the household. It was stated that he was charged by certain of the king's council "to do and prosecute many matters in divers counties of the realm." He was not to be taken, arrested, imprisoned or otherwise harmed for felonies, trespasses or other misdeeds perpetrated before the date of the letters patent (*Cal. Pat. Rolls*, 1364-7, p. 351). The protection was renewed during pleasure on 15 April, three days before Easter, Lavenham having expressed a fear that loss and hindrance might be inflicted on him by certain of his enemies, in the execution of the business with which he was entrusted by members of the council (*ibid.* p. 387). It was not until 20 November in this year that he received the grant of 6d. a day at the exchequer, which Reading associates with the original letters of protection (*ibid.* 1367-70, p. 40). On 16 May, 1370, he obtained a definitive pardon for all felonies committed by him in England, whereof he was indicted or appealed (*ibid.* p. 402).

The protection granted to two unnamed associates of Lavenham does not seem to be entered on the Patent Rolls, unless John Mawer, cook, the king's approver who received a pardon on 1 November, 1368 (*ibid.* p. 166), was one of them. He had conquered

several felons, whom he accused, in battle at Tothill by Westminster

P. 179, l. 28. *Nuncii Hispanniae,* etc. Of the envoys here mentioned only one appears on the Patent Rolls as receiving a safe-conduct. This was Rickmann de Lancken, captain of the castle of Falsterbothoe, who was sent by Waldemar of Denmark (*Cal. Pat. Rolls,* 1364-7, p. 346). The object of his mission is not stated, but see above p. 338.

The presence of envoys from Milan seems to date the council at which they and the others were received as not earlier than February, for it was not until 19 January, 1367, that Galeazzo Visconti formally accepted the match between Lionel of Clarence and his daughter, Violanta, suggested by the earl of Hereford's mission in the July before (*Foedera,* III, 797, 817).

The Spanish envoys may have been agents of king Peter, the Flemish probably brought an answer to Warwick's mission of the previous autumn (*ibid.* p. 814). A treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was concluded with the count of Flanders on 26 May (*ibid.* p. 826). For the Scottish mission see the next note.

P. 180, l. 2. *Scotis tamen . . . quia contradixerunt.* Edward III's angry reception of the Scottish envoys, though only recorded here and in rather an extraordinary form, would not be out of place at this date. The Scots had hotly rejected all his proposals for a union of the two crowns after David's death (Mackinnon. *Hist. of Edward III,* pp. 515-519). We do not know in what connexion they had been asked to attend a parliament at York and to redeem an alleged undertaking to put their whole force of men-at-arms at the disposal of the king of England in time of war, though mutual aid in war was part of one of the alternative schemes proposed to the parliament at Scone in March, 1364. But at least it is untrue that the Scots refused to pay the arrears of David's ransom. It was poverty, not bad faith, that left this debt outstanding.

In the wrathful speech put into his mouth by Reading, Edward accuses the Scots, not merely of breach of faith, but of contemplating an attack upon England, while her best troops were in Spain and her king was too old to lead her forces at home. He denies this imputation, but declines to meet such robbers in person and charges his son Edmund with the task. Whereupon the Scots ally themselves with Danes, Norwegians and other 'islanders' to plunder the English, and much damage is done and blood shed in Ulster and elsewhere.

This is altogether rather a strange story, and at first sight seems

quite inconsistent with admitted facts. An instalment of David Bruce's ransom was paid on 2 February, 1367 (*Fœdera,* III, 818). At the beginning of September a treaty was concluded for keeping the peace on the marches (*ibid.* p. 831). Moreover, the Scottish cooperation with Danes and Norwegians is hardly credible, if alliance with the kings of Denmark and Norway is meant. For Waldemar and Hakon had their eyes turned towards Sweden rather than England at this juncture (Schäfer, *Die Hansestädte und König Waldemar von Dänemark,* pp. 413-8.) Nor do the Irish sources report any unusual slaying and burning in Ulster during the year 1367. Yet the story may not be entirely without foundation. That England was believed to be in real danger of invasion at this time is certain. The counties and the lords marcher of Wales (10 February) were ordered to have their fencible men ready to march against the king's enemies, if they presumed to invade the realm (*Cal. Close Rolls,* 1364-8, p. 371). With this, perhaps, we ought to connect the mandate issued two days earlier, 'for particular causes newly moving the king,' forbidding any person to leave the realm or take out of the realm any horses, arms or armour without the king's license (*ibid.* p. 370). On 25 February the latter part of this prohibition was repeated with reference to Scotland alone, and 'corn and other victual' were added to the list of articles, the export of which was forbidden (*ibid.*).

Apart from the possibility of a Spanish naval descent, there was probably a fear that the French (see next note) and the Scots might seize the opportunity presented by the absence of the flower of the English army in Spain, to break the peace. If the Black Prince had been defeated, the temptation would have been very strong, but in April the news of his victory at Najera must have caused any idea of the kind to be relinquished. In any case, it is incredible that Scotland can have intended to move without the support of France. If she secured, as Reading asserts, promises of cooperation from Danes and Norwegians, these were probably private adventurers, the foreign mercenaries referred to in Edward's speech to the Scottish envoys.

P. 181, l. 14. *Karolus rex Franciae . . . cum fratre suo Philippo.* As this part of Reading's chronicle was not copied by later compilers, no one seems hitherto to have suspected that Charles V had any idea of resuming the struggle with England in 1367, or at least was credited with such an intention by the English. Their apprehensions, whether well or ill-founded, would naturally give rise to some exaggerated rumours. M. Petit's Itinerary of Philip of Burgundy, disposes of Reading's circumstantial statement that

the two brothers went to St. Omer to await news of a Scottish invasion of England, though Philip was with the king at Paris from 20 December, 1366, to 10 March, 1367, an unusually prolonged stay.

If a Scottish invasion of England was (as Reading says) to have been the signal for Philip's marriage to Margaret of Flanders, Urban V would have had to be more expeditious than he actually was, and the count of Flanders must have been playing a double game. For, though the papal dispensation allowing Philip to marry a wife related to him in the third or fourth degree was granted on the 17th March, it was not until 3 November, 1367, that Urban released Margaret from her obligations to Edmund of Langley, and gave her licence to make another marriage (O. Cartellieri, *Philip der Kühne*, p. 116). Meanwhile, on 26 May, her father had entered into an offensive and defensive alliance with Edward III (*Fœdera*, III, 826). The marriage was not actually carried out until June, 1369.

P. 181, l. 29. *Circa finem . . . Martii.* Reading, having evidently no accurate knowledge of the Spanish campaign up to the date of the battle of Najera—Saturday, 3 April, 1367—assumes that the prince had only just left Aquitaine. His army, as a matter of fact, crossed the Pyrenees on 15-17 February (Chandos Herald, ed. Pope and Lodge, p. 205).

P. 182, l. 5. *Johanne de Ferrers.* See note on his death, below p 351.

P. 182, l. 6. *Roberto Cnolles.* The famous Cheshire soldier of fortune, Robert Knowles.

P. 182, l. 7. *Thoma Offord.* Sir Thomas Ufford, who succeeded the earl of March as knight of the garter in 1360, is probably to be identified with a younger son of Robert Ufford, first earl of Suffolk, who seems to have died before his father made his will in 1368 (Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, p. 128, from Wittlesey's Register; Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 74, follows an inaccurate abstract). But Sir Harris Nicolas is apparently mistaken in suggesting that he fell in the skirmish near Vittoria in March, in which a reconnoitring force under Sir Thomas Felton, whom he accompanied, was cut up by the Spaniards. He was not even taken prisoner, for he fought at Najera (Chandos Herald, l. 3,231).

A Thomas de Offart, in all likelihood the knight of the garter. had been crusading in Prussia with the earl of Warwick and other Englishmen in 1365 (Hirsch, *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum*, II, 551). Cf. Jorga, Philippe de Mézières (1896), pp. 269, 279.

P. 182, l. 7. *Jacobo de Audelee.* This was Sir James Audley, K.G., who had specially distinguished himself at Poitiers (Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter,* p. 75 sqq.; Chandos Herald, ed. Pope and Lodge, p. 238). Chandos Herald does not include him among those who accompanied the prince to Spain, and, according to one account, he was left behind as governor of Aquitaine (see below).

P. 182, l. 8. *Triginta milibus hominum.* This estimate of the numbers of the prince's army does not greatly exceed the 24,000 which Professor Oman, on a comparison of authorities, takes to have been its strength before entering Spain (*Art of War,* p. 644). Making allowance for the losses and hardships of the two months before the battle, he does not think it likely that more than 20,000 men fought at Najera. But even this figure is probably much too high (Ramsay, *Genesis of Lancaster,* I, 478).

P. 182, l. 9. *Custode Aquitaniae comite de Fous.* Gaston. Phoebus III, vicomte of Béarn and count of Foix (1343-1393), visited the prince's camp at Dax just before the advance into Spain. Chandos Herald (l. 2,183) merely notes that he returned to his own country before the army set forth, but Froissart, in the first edition of his chronicle (ed. Luce, VII, 3), asserts that the prince first "li recarga son pays et li pria que il en volsist songnier dou garder jusques à son retour." Miss Lodge suggests that this may mean no more than that he promised to guard the frontier in case of danger arising during the prince's absence (Chandos Herald, p. 203). The passage was afterwards omitted in the second edition (ed. Luce, VII, 260).

Reading's statement, however, is clear enough, and so is that of Walter of Peterborough, the duke of Lancaster's secretary, who accompanied his master to Spain and wrote a poem in Latin on the victory of Najera. Walter says that Foix was left in charge at Bordeaux, together with the sire de Pommiers (*Political Songs* (Rolls Ser.), I, 104). As the three authorities in question seem to be quite independent of one another, it is difficult to suppose, despite the silence of Chandos Herald, that there was no foundation whatever for their assertion. It must be admitted, however, that Dugdale quotes Froissart for a statement that Sir James Audley was left governor of Aquitaine, while the prince was in Spain (*Baronage,* I, 749); but I have failed to find the passage to which he refers. Audley, as has been seen, is not mentioned by Chandos Herald as taking part in the campaign of Najera.

P. 182, l. 14. *Numerum centum millium . . . excedente.* The

estimates of the numbers of Henry of Trastamara's army are all wild, but this is the wildest of them all. The lowest is that of Cuvelier and the St. Albans compiler, who give the figure as 60,000 (*Chron. de Bertrand du Guesclin*, l. 11,734; *Chron. Angl.*, p. 58). Chandos Herald (ll. 2,985-2,997) makes Henry reckon his forces at 66,000 men. Froissart seems to adopt this estimate in one passage and exaggerate it enormously in another (*Chron.*, VII, 30, 32). It is well to remember that the Spanish historian Ayala, the only writer who was in Henry's camp, does not attempt to give a precise total and allows only 4,500 men-at-arms.

P. 182, l. 24. *A nobile duce Lancastriae . . . potenter dissipatur.* Reading's brief description of the fierce fighting between the English first line under John of Gaunt (with whom was Chandos) and the Spanish vanguard commanded by Bertrand du Guesclin, and of its doubtful issue for a time, is confirmed by the longer narrative of Chandos Herald, an eyewitness (ll. 3,225 sqq.). But the Herald, while doing full justice to Lancaster's gallantry (ll. 3,925-3,304), does not support our author's assertion that the duke's division decided the battle before the prince's line came into action. Unless, indeed, he refers only to the prince himself and not to his division. The vanguard was reinforced from the prince's right before king Henry's brother, Don Tello, who was on du Guesclin's left, turned and fled from the field.

P. 183, l. 1. *In supradicto flumine ac de ponte ejus.* The Castilians had crossed to the eastern bank of the Najerilla (a tributary of the Ebro) for the battle. In the retreat, their losses here were very great. Chandos Herald declares that more than 2,000 were drowned (l. 3,434) and preserves a report—doubtless exaggerated—that no less than 7,700 men perished at the river.

P. 183, l. 4. *Dominus Johannes Ferre(r)s.* Froissart calls him Ralph and Chandos Herald does not give his christian name, but Reading confirms Miss Lodge's suggestion that John, lord Ferrers of Chartley, was the person referred to (Chandos Herald, p. 215, note; omitted in the notice in the index of proper names, p. 246). Dugdale, quoting from the Close Roll, says that John Ferrers "died beyond the seas upon the second day of April, 41 Edw. III" (*Baronage*, I, 266). Neither he, nor those who have copied from him, seem to have realised that this date (omitted in the *Calendar of Close Rolls*, 1364-8, p. 432), though a day out, is obviously that of the battle of Najera. Ferrers was the only Englishman of note who was slain. According to Chandos Herald (l. 3,421) he was killed in the main action, not in the pursuit as Reading says.

From the latter only we learn that Ferrers was in Lancaster's following and that twenty other members of the duke's retinue were among the slain.

P. 183, l. 5. *In loco belli de adversariis cecidere.* The list of Spanish casualties, given by Reading, is also preserved in the Canterbury chronicle (above pp. 225-7), with some differences of order and many of spelling. Their common source was no doubt an official or quasi-official despatch, like the Poitiers list in Reading and the Auray list in the Canterbury chronicle, but a large proportion of the names were already corruptly written when they took their copies. In the hands of chroniclers and transcribers ignorant of Spanish nomenclature, confusion became worse confounded, until it reached such a pitch that identification would be hopeless in some cases had we not for comparison the lists of the Spanish writers, Pero Lopez Ayala, himself a prisoner (*Cronica del Rey Don Pedro* in *Cronicas de los Reyes de Castilla,* Madrid, 1875, I, 557-8), and Ferdinand Alvarez d'Albornoz, nephew of the celebrated cardinal d'Albornoz (Moisant, *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine,* App., pp. 277-8). Without their aid no one would recognise Inigo Lopez de Orozco in Shenco Donesveske, or Juan Ramirez de Arellano in Johannes Bimers de Naurgalane.

The estimate of 6,000 (5,000 or 6,000, *Cant. Chron.*) men-at-arms, excluding light cavalry, slain and some 2,000 taken prisoners, is clearly excessive, if we can trust Ayala's figure (4,500) for the total number of heavy-armed men in Henry's army, or even the more reasonable of the two given by Chandos Herald (6,000). The proportion of men-at-arms was smaller in Spanish armies than in those of other western countries. Ayala says that the Castilian first line, which bore the brunt of the fighting, had 400 men-at-arms killed. Froissart's figure for the men-at-arms slain—5,600—agrees pretty closely with that of our list, but he differs from it in venturing a precise estimate of the loss of the infantry, which is put at 7,500, not counting those who were drowned (Froissart, ed. Luce, VII, 48). The most exaggerated estimate of the loss in men-at-arms is in Knighton (II, 122), who asserts that there were slain in the actual battle 5,000 and 3,000 more in the pursuit. The Canterbury chronicler omits the statement in the text that the prisoners included 200 Frenchmen and a number of Scots.

The Brut (p. 320) condenses Reading's account, with a few touches from the Polychronicon (p. 416). The latter speaks of 7,000 " ferro et aqua occisi."

P. 183, l. 9. *Janitariis.* Professor Oman describes these light horse well :

"The 'Genetes' or 'Genetours,' as the English called them, took their name from the jennets or light coursers which they rode. They were equipped in a semi-Moorish fashion, with a round steel cap, a large shield, a quilted gambeson, and two long javelins, which they launched at the enemy with good aim, even when galloping at full speed. Their tactics were not to close, but to hover round their opponents, continually harassing them, till they should give ground or break their formation, when a chance would occur of pushing their charge home. Such troops would have been formidable to infantry not armed with missile weapons or to dismounted men-at-arms; but against the combination of archers and knights they were helpless" (*Art of War*, p. 638).

According to the more moderate of Chandos Herald's two estimates of the Spanish numbers (l. 2,991) king Henry had 6,000 of these light horse.

P. 183, l. 10. *Pavisariis, balistariis.* The pavisers (shieldmen) are practically always mentioned in association with archers. The paviser covered the archer with a large shield while he took aim. (See Ducange *s.v.* and Wylie, *Hist. of Henry IV,* II, 325.)

P. 183, l. 14. *Comes de Doune* (*Denia*). His captors were two esquires, Robert Hauley and John Shakyl. Disputes between them and the government of Richard II, over the custody of the count's son who went to England as hostage for his ransom, ended in the slaughter of Hauley in Westminster Abbey on 11 August, 1378, by a party headed by the constable of the Tower (Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt,* pp. 234 sqq.; *Rot. Parl.,* III, 37; *Trans. British Acad.,* 1907-8, p. 64).

P. 184, l. 5. *Clavarius de Galtrave.* Should be, probably, the *Grand Master* of the order of Calatrava, Don Pero Moñiz de Godoy (Froissart, ed. Luce, VII. ix, xvii; Chandos Herald, ed. Pope and Lodge, l. 3,456 and note).

P. 184, l. 8. *Magister de Sancto Regno.* Chandos Herald (l. 3,459) mentions among the prisoners the master of the order of Santiago in Galicia, and the Canterbury chronicle reads Magister Sancti Jacobi. There is some difference of opinion as to the person so indicated. Ayala only mentions Garci Alvarez de Toledo, who had resigned the mastership recently, and Luce identifies him with the Master in Chandos Herald (Froissart, VII. xvii). The editor of the Herald is however inclined (p. 215) to regard Gonzalo de Mexia, the new Master, as the person intended. If we can depend upon

the accuracy of the list followed by Reading and the Canterbury chronicler, Miss Lodge is apparently right, since Alvarez de Toledo is there mentioned separately. Mexia, however, does not appear in either of the Spanish lists, and there is a bare possibility that the English authorities refer to the Master of Santiago in *Castile*, Gomez Perez de Porres, who was also Prior of San Juan, under which title his capture is noted by Chandos Herald (l. 3,457).

P. 184, l. 13. *Plures de Scotia.* For Scots in the companies which fought for Henry, see the Chronique de Bertrand du Guesclin, I, 260, and Francisque Michel, Les Ecossais en France, I, 72.

P. 184, l. 17. *Infra triduum.* The prince and king Peter left Najera for Burgos on Monday, 5 April (Chandos Herald (ll. 3,558-60)).

P. 185, l. 22. *qui patrem in captivitate tristem reliquit.* Louis, duke of Anjou, second son of John II, allowed to leave Calais on parole when a hostage in 1363, had broken his promise and failed to return (see below p. 365). His breach of faith was at least one of the motives which induced his father to come to England once more a few months before his death (see above p. 312).

P. 186, l. 2. *Acquitanniam hostiliter ingressus.* On his escape from Najera, Henry of Trastamara fled across the Pyrenees, and, after visiting the count of Foix at Orthez, betook himself to the duke of Anjou, governor of Languedoc for his brother Charles V, who resided at Toulouse. As early as the 24 May Henry was at Servian, near Béziers, and in July was raiding in the Rouergue (Froissart, ed. Luce, VII, xxii). The name of the town captured by Henry and Louis of Anjou does not appear to be recorded. On 13 August they concluded an offensive and defensive alliance against Edward III and his sons at Aigues-Mortes. Henry returned to Spain towards the end of September (*ibid.* p. xxii).

P. 186, l. 16. *de adventu ducis Lancastriae . . . ad certas civitates Provinciae.* Reading must be mistaken in supposing that pope Urban's departure for Rome was hastened by an imminent invasion of Provence by John of Gaunt, to enforce the claim he derived from Eleanor of Provence (above p. 336). Urban left Avignon on 30 April and Lancaster did not return from Spain to Guienne with the Black Prince until August (Chandos Herald, p. 217). But, before he actually quitted Spain, a rumour of such an intention on his part came to the ears of queen Joanna of Naples, the actual possessor of the county of Provence. She complained to the pope,

who, on 26 July, sent a remonstrance to Edward III from Viterbo. Urban expressed surprise that such a project should be in contemplation, in view of assurances he had formerly received from an envoy of the king of England, on some suspicion of the like, that no such action should be allowed until a lawful claim had first been laid and defect of justice been shown. The queen, he said, was ready to have the matter decided judicially, and Edward was urged to forbid this invasion with all its possible consequences (*Fœdera*, III, 830). Lancaster did not lead an English army into Provence, but he was still urging his claims four years later (Armitage-Smith, *John of Gaunt*, p. 91).

P. 186, l. 24. *in mense Maii versus Romam profectus est.* As stated in the last note, Urban left Avignon on 30 April, 1367. Setting sail from Marseilles on 20 May, he arrived at Viterbo on 9 June and remained there until his solemn entry into Rome on 16 October.

II. The Anonymous Canterbury Chronicle.

P. 187, l. 5. *xvij die mensis Julii.* This is, of course, an error, perhaps due to a false impression that Edward III, who, as the writer mentions further on, left La Hougue on the 18th, had spent only one night there. The real date of his landing was Wednesday, 12 July. See above p. 229.

P. 187, l. 7. *praesens fuit marescallus Franciae Bertrandus.* Robert Bertrand or Bertran, sire de Bricquebec and a marshal of France, was in charge of the coast defence from Honfleur to Brittany as early as August, 1345 (*Chronique Normande,* ed. Molinier, p. 272, note). The only other English source which definitely mentions preparations to oppose the English landing, also alludes to Bertrand as directing them, though wrongly entitling him constable of France. According to the valuable fragment of an account of Edward's campaign of 1346, in MS. 370 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, printed by M. Moisant at the end of his monograph Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine, Bertrand had ordered a muster of the local forces for the very day of the landing, but they fled at the sight of the English ships. A force of 500 Genoese, which had been stationed on the coast for ten weeks, was withdrawn or retired three days before the English came (Moisant, *op. cit.* p. 159). The Canterbury chronicler, while clearly exaggerating the numbers of the force under Bertrand's command, agrees with the author of the Corpus fragment as to the absence of resistance, and they are to a certain extent supported by the silence of most of the other authorities. But that there was some fighting on the day of the landing appears from Bradwardine's letter (Murimuth, p. 201) and the contemporary itinerary printed by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson in his edition of Baker's chronicle (p. 253). The story of the earl of Warwick's prowess found in the Ypodigma Neustriae (p. 285), lends some confirmation, though it is perhaps not wholly free from the romantic colour which seems to have been given to Warwick's exploits. Bertrand's opposition to the landing is also described in an anonymous chronicle of the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, quoted by Kervyn de Lettenhove (Froissart, II, 202, note), and, doubtless with exaggeration, by Froissart in the Francophil second edition of his Chroniques (ed. Luce, III, 359). Bertrand is said to have been severely wounded, but he took part, a fortnight later, in the defence of Caen, and,

when the town was taken, retired into the castle with his brother William, bishop of Bayeux (*Chronique des Quatres Premiers Valois*, p. 14). Cf. Chandos Herald, ed. Pope and Lodge, pp. 5, 240.

P. 188, l. 3. *Movebat se de Hogges.* This description of the march to Caen, though brief, is correct, and must be drawn from a contemporary source. The repair of the bridge over the Ouve is mentioned by Northburgh (Murimuth, p. 213) and in the Corpus fragment (Moisant, *Prince Noir*, p. 162), and that of the bridge at Pont-Hébert in the Cotton Itinerary (Baker, p. 253) and (without name) by Northburgh.

P. 188, l. 15. *Camerarius de Tankervile.* Jean de Melun, sire de Tancarville, chamberlain of France. I have not found any confirmation of the statement here made that he had been proclaimed a marshal of France.

P. 188, l. 20. *usque ad nudos parietes spoliata.* The phrase is taken, apparently, from Wynkeley's letter in Murimuth (p. 215).

P. 188, l. 21. *paludes plurimae,* etc. This description of the difficult country through which the army marched, after leaving Caen, is not found in any other extant source. Baker (p. 80) notes that Troarn, where Edward slept on Monday, 31 July, was situated in a marsh.

P. 189, l. 4. *cardinales.* These were Annibale da Ceccano and Etienne Aubert, afterwards pope Innocent VI. Other authorities call them the cardinals of Naples and Clermont, Ceccano being archbishop of Naples and Aubert having been bishop of Clermont-Ferrand before his elevation to the cardinalate in 1342. They met Edward III at Lisieux, where he spent Wednesday and Thursday, 2 and 3 August (Baker, p. 253). After their visit to Rouen they rejoined him, with Philip's offers, at some point on the Seine, Elbeuf (7 August) according to the Cotton Itinerary (Baker, pp. 253, 256), but more probably Freneuse, three days march further on (Moisant, *Le Prince Noir*, p. 168). With the exception of the cardinals' names, the account of the negotiations is taken almost *verbatim* from Wynkeley's letter in Murimuth (p. 215). The Canterbury chronicle, however, omits the condition of further concessions in addition to Aquitaine—a royal marriage.

P. 189, l. 19. *Rex autem Angliae deinde progrediens.* For the rest of the campaign the author copies Murimuth with little more than slight verbal changes. He had access, however, to a more authentic list of the French slain at Crécy than that given in

Murimuth, omitting the king of Majorca and giving the see of the second bishop supposed to have been killed. The confusion caused by the statement that Alençon was brother of Philip of Valois was also in the list used by Baker (p. 85), who has transferred the 'Philip' to the count of Harcourt, whose name comes next. In addition to the deviations from Murimuth just mentioned, our author also records the pursuit of the enemy, and mentions a favourable portent which had been observed before the battle. Either he or a transcriber has carelessly dropped several passages, with the result that some of his sentences are unintelligible.

P. 192, l. 9. *a die Sancti Rufi usque ad annum completum.* The writer evidently thought that the siege of Calais began the day after the battle, 27 August, but it was not invested until 4 September. The siege did not last a full year. See above p. 230.

P. 192, l. 14. *David le Bruys, rex Scotiae,* etc. This account of the campaign, ending in the battle of Neville's Cross, seems to be based partly upon that of Murimuth (p. 218). The inclusion of Patrick de Dunbar, earl of March, among the slain is a mistake, no doubt copied from this source. Among the additions is the correct day of the week on which the battle was fought.

P. 193, l. 9. *Mortuo J. archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.* As John Stratford, archbishop of Canterbury, died on 23 August, 1348, and the plague reached England early in that month (Avesbury, p. 406), the writer's date for its outbreak is approximately correct. His estimate of the mortality, though wild, is not so incredible as some contemporary guesses. See above p. 245.

P. 193, l. 18. *Johannem de Doncastre.* The archer Doncaster's night surprise of the castle of Guines is here placed four years too early. It took place in January, 1352. The story of its capture is told at great length by Baker (pp. 116 sqq., cf. note p. 286) and more briefly by Avesbury (p. 414).

P. 194, l. 7. *ad calcetum ejusdem.* The *calcetum* was the raised causeway which traversed marshy ground from the western gate of Calais to the bridge of Nieulay. Towards the close of the siege of Calais in 1347 the cardinals came "a bout de la chaucee" with proposals for peace negotiations (Avesbury, p. 392). It was the "pavimentum quod est iter ad Calesiam" mentioned by Baker (p. 113) in his account of John de Beauchamp's defeat in 1351.

P. 194, l. 10. *Anno . . . Jubilaeo.* The early part of this notice has some verbal similarity to that in the continuation of Murimuth (ed. Hog, p. 182). cf. also Baker, p. 108.

P. 194, l. 16. *mortuus est Philippus de Valesio.* This entry is a year too late. Philip VI died on 22 August, 1350.

P. 194, l. 21. *Galfridus Charney.* Like the last, this entry is a year out, but in one or two points it is singularly well-informed. This is the only chronicle which supplies the exact day of the month and week—Monday, 4 January—on which the surprise of Calais was attempted, and it alone shows knowledge that Emery of Pavia was captain of the royal galleys. It may also be correct in making Emery's brother (Dominic) a party to the deception of Charny. He certainly seems to have shared the king's favour later to some extent. See above p. 240. But there is no authority for describing Charny as seneschal of France (Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Luce, IV, xxxi).

P. 195, l. 8. *ad tractandum super reformatione pacis.* Lancaster's embassy went to Avignon in the autumn of 1354 not 1353. See above p. 256.

P. 195, l. 16. *mortuus est . . . Norwicensis episcopus.* William Bateman, bishop of Norwich, founder of Trinity Hall, Cambridge and second founder of Gonville College, died at Avignon on Epiphany day, 6 January (1355), as here stated (Le Neve, *Fasti Eccl., Angl.*, II, 464). He was buried with great state before the high altar in the cathedral there. See his life by canon Venables in Dict. of Nat. Biog., III, 395 sqq. He had been one of Edward III's two candidates for cardinals' hats in 1350 (Baker, p. 112).

P. 196, l. 1. *Richinaldo Cobham.* Reginald, lord Cobham, K.G., of Sterborough in Lingfield, Surrey, was marshal of the Black Prince's army during the raid into Languedoc in October-November, 1355 (Baker, p. 129). The author would be interested in him as an offshoot of the Cobhams of Kent. See G.E.C., *Complete Peerage*, II, 322, and Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter*, p. 103.

P. 196, l. 1. *Stephano de Cosyngton.* Though a well known commander in the French wars of Edward III, Cosyngton probably owes his mention here by the Canterbury annalist to the fact that he was a Kentish knight, taking his name from Cosington in Northfleet. He was afterwards joint marshal of the Black Prince's army in Spain with Guichard d'Angle, Richard II's tutor (Chandos Herald, l. 2,283), or, according to Knighton (II, 122), constable while Guichard d'Angle was marshal. The presence of his shield on the tomb of Reginald, lord Cobham, seems to show some

connexion between the two families (Beltz, *Memorials of the Garter*, p. 105; for other references to Cosyngton see index). For a brief notice of Cosyngton see Chandos Herald, ed. Pope and Lodge, p. 243.

P. 196, l. 7. *habuit cum Delphino de Vienna diversos conflictus.* If this must be taken to mean that the dauphin Charles was in the south of France during the Black Prince's raid into Languedoc, it is not correct (Avesbury, pp. 435-6).

P. 196, l. 18. $M^{l}M^{l}M^{l}$ *homines armorum*, etc. This estimate of the numbers of the English forces at Poitiers is the lowest of those which profess to be complete, the figure for the archers being clearly an under-statement. No other authority puts their number below 1,400. For purposes of comparison the following table of estimates which include all branches of the army, may be useful :

	Men-at-arms.	Archers.	Servientes.
Canterbury chronicle	3,000	1,000	1,000
Burghersh	3,000	2,000	1,000
Baker	4,000	2,000	1,000

For partial estimates see note on p. 265, above.

P. 196, l. 19. *Rex vero Franciae habuit iiii bella.* The writer is mistaken in giving the duke of Bourbon as the leader of the third French 'battle,' which was under the command of the duke of Orleans, and I have not been able to identify the two marquises whom he associates with king John in the fourth 'battle.' On the other hand, he supplies the most detailed list we have of the banners and pennons carried in the French army, 402 in all. The *vexilla* were the square banners of knights bannerets, while the *pyncelli* (*pencelli* or *penuncelli*) were the pennons of knights bachelors, or sometimes of simple esquires, if they had a large enough following. See Ducange, Glossarium s.v. *Pennones*. Baker (p. 143) gives the number of banners as 87, the account in the Eulogium Historiarum (III, 225) seems to raise this figure to 100. The figure in the text, for banners and pennons combined, may be compared with Burghersh's estimate of 1,000 knights, who bore banners and pennons, among the dead alone (Chandos Herald, ed. Michel, p. 338). Our chronicler's list of the French casualties differs little, except in the order of names and correctness, from that appended to Avesbury's chronicle (pp. 469 sqq.), and is clearly based upon the same official or semi-official list. In some points it is closer to the similar but shorter list in Burghersh's letter. The author (or a transcriber) has made sad nonsense of the estimate of unnamed dead, in addition to which he adds a second list of the slain by inserting a heading "Occisi

in eodem bello" in the middle of the list of captives. He is alone, however, it would appear, in noting that the castellan of Amposta was "familiaris papae et bene dilectus ab eo." For another note on the Poitiers casualties see above p. 265.

P. 200, l. 18. *Posuit eos ibidem quodam fortalicio.* King John was placed in the monastery of Saint André at Bordeaux (Moisant, *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine,* p. 62). The writer is mistaken in thinking that all the prisoners taken at Poitiers were conveyed to Bordeaux. See above p. 266.

P. 200, l. 24. *Innocentius episcopus,* etc. The two letters of pope Innocent VI to the Black Prince, after Poitiers, are dated Avignon the third and the sixth of October respectively. Barnes, who translated them (from Raynaldi) in his History of Edward III (pp. 517-8), absurdly gave the earlier date to both. The first letter is printed in full by Delpit in his Collection générale de documents français qui se trouvent en Angleterre (p. 79), and with omissions and errors by Michel in the appendix to his edition of the poem of Chandos Herald (p. 339). A third letter, dated 20 October, in the same strain of exhortation to peace, is printed by Michel (*ibid.* p. 338) from Cotton MS., Galba E. x, f. 56. Moisant, in his Prince Noir (p. 62, n. 2), seems to confuse it with the latter of 3 October.

P. 204, l. 14. *Rex Franciae ductus fuit . . . versus Angliam.* The account, which follows of the landing at Plymouth and the reception of the victorious prince and his royal captive in London, is far fuller and more interesting than the brief notice in Reading (above p. 126). It is clearly based upon a contemporary description. The next seven years, however, are a blank in the Lambeth manuscript, for the transcriber's eye was caught by the account of the second coming of king John, in 1364, and omitting everything between Wednesday, 24 May, 1357, and Thursday, 11 January, 1364, he unconsciously rolled the two arrivals into one. Fortunately, the missing portion is preserved, though with certain confusions and doubtless some omissions, in the abbreviation of the Canterbury chronicle ascribed to bishop Rede (Introd., p. 72).

The writer's date for the landing at Plymouth, Wednesday 3 May, is a day earlier than that given in the Grandes Chroniques de France (VI, 58) and two days before Reading's, which was copied into the continuation of Murimuth and the St. Albans chronicles. M. Moisant rejects all these dates as too early, on the strength of a document seemingly attested by the prince at Bordeaux on 10 May (*Le Prince Noir,* p. 63). But he can hardly have been there so late as this.

P. 204, l. 27. *Henricus Picard major.* Picard, who was a vintner, served as mayor in 1357. The city story of his entertaining the kings of England, France, Cyprus and Scotland on one day in 1363, is certainly inaccurate, for all four kings were not in London at one time (see Stow, *Survey of London,* ed. Kingsford, I, 106; II, 166).

P. 205, l. 3. *De quolibet artificio dictae civitatis,* etc. With the preparations made for the reception of the Black Prince and his captive and the procession of the gilds, cp. the description of Richard II's coronation procession in Walsingham's Historia Anglicana (I, 331) and the accounts of Richard's entry into London after his reconciliation with the citizens in 1392.

P. 205, l. 22. *Episcopus Londoniensis.* This was Michael de Northburgh. He died in 1361.

P. 206, l. 8. *Circa obsidionem villae de Reyns* The siege of Rennes by Henry of Lancaster lasted nine months, from 2 October, 1356, until 5 July, 1357 (Froissart, *Chroniques,* ed. Luce, V, xxii, note).

P. 206, l. 11. *Petrus nuper archiepiscopus Rotomagensis, . . . cardinalis.* For Pierre de la Forêt, made a cardinal in 1356, see above p. 268. From our chronicle alone we learn that he preceded the other two cardinals, and his attempt to secure a secret interview with John II is not recorded elsewhere.

P. 206, l. 15. *Comes de Tankervile, germanus ejus.* Jean de Melun, comte de Tancarville and chamberlain of France, was brother of Guillaume de Melun, archbishop of Sens.

P. 207, l. 6. *iii die Julii intraverunt civitatem Londoniarum.* Reading dates the entry of the cardinals of Périgord and St. Vitale into London three days later, but the text is so specific with regard to their itinerary from Dover onwards, that it is difficult to reject its date. For the object of their mission and the reasons for its failure see note above pp. 268 sq.

P. 207, l. 25. *Urgelensis.* The cardinal of St. Vitale was sometimes so called from his bishopric of Urgel in Aragon.

P. 208, l. 10. *Sub certa forma pacis.* This is the fullest, and, on the whole, most exact, account in any chronicle of the treaty of 8 May, 1358, which M. Delachenal has named the First Treaty of London, though it was concluded at Windsor (*Hist. de Charles V,*

II, 66-7, and see above, p. 270). The author, however, doubles the amount of John's ransom as fixed by this treaty, which was 4,000,000 *écus d'or*. From the last sentence of the notice it would appear that some step in the ratification of the treaty was taken on 4 June.

P. 209, l. 10. *Die Dominica valde mane. . . Cantuaria recedens.* Despite the earliness of the hour, John despatched an order to France from Canterbury on this date (Froissart, ed. Luce, VI, viii).

P. 209, l. 15. *in Domo Dei Dovorrae.* The hospital of St. Mary or Maison Dieu at Dover, founded by Hubert de Burgh, was primarily intended for the accommodation of pilgrims going to and coming from the continent (Statham, *Hist of Dover,* pp. 189 sqq.).

P. 209, l. 21. *hora vesperarum . . . applicuit apud Caleys.* This very precise statement that king John reached Calais in the evening of Tuesday, 7 July, is at variance with French evidence making him land there on the morning of Wednesday, the 8th (see note above p. 285).

P. 209, l. 26. *princeps Walliae, Henricus dux Lancastriae . . . applicuerunt apud Caleys.* It is usually asserted, on the authority of Froissart, that they accompanied John to Calais, returning after waiting some time, in vain, for the payment of the first part of the ransom. The writer of the life of the prince, in the Dict. of Nat. Biogr., says that he went back to Calais with his father on 9 October. But the English chroniclers say nothing of his alleged visit in July, and the present record, that he and Lancaster crossed with the chancellor and others on 11 August, cannot be got over.

P. 210, l. 26. *ultimo die Februarii.* February here must be a slip of the pen for January, since the parliament of 1361 was dissolved on the 18 or 19 February, while Reading distinctly states that the solemn ratification of the peace in parliament took place on the last day of January. The chronicler is also guilty of a slight inaccuracy in placing the opening of the session after the feast of the conversion of St. Paul. Parliament met on the eve of that festival (see above pp. 148, 289).

P. 211, l. 6. *Johannes rex. . . juramentum praestitit.* The two kings solemnly swore to observe the treaty in the church of St. Nicholas at Calais on Saturday, 24 October, 1360. But John, who went to Boulogne next day, renewed his oath there as a free man on Monday, the 26th (Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V,* II, 263). On

the same day the Black Prince, who had accompanied him to Boulogne, and John's eldest son, the duke of Normandy, renewed the oaths which they had taken to the treaty in its first shape, in the previous May (*ibid.* II, 262). Henry of Lancaster seems to have been with the prince on this occasion, though his presence is not mentioned elsewhere.

It will be noticed that this entry is not only placed out of its chronological order but is apparently duplicated. Perhaps bishop Rede, if he was the abbreviator, is responsible for the confusion. The Cotton text presents other difficulties which may not have existed in its original.

P. 211, l. 12. *archiepiscopus Remensis.* Jean de Craon (d. 1373).

P. 211, l. 12. *Petrus Rothomagensis archiepiscopus.* This seems to be a mistake. Pierre de la Forêt ceased to be archbishop of Rouen on becoming a cardinal in 1356, and after the death of his successor, Guillaume de Flavacourt, in 1359, the see was vacant for three years until the appointment of Pierre d'Alençon in May, 1362.

P. 211, l. 14. *Lodowicus comes Stampae.* Louis II, count of Étampes, great-grandson of Philip III (le Hardi) king of France.

P. 211, l. 15. *Aegidius episcopus Noviomensis.* Giles de Lorris, bishop of Noyon, from 1352 to 1388.

P. 211, l. 17. *Arnulphus Daudenham.* Arnoul d'Audrehem, one of the prisoners taken at Poitiers. See above p. 198.

P. 212, l. 4. *Secunda pestilentia.* Briefer descriptions of the plague of 1361 are given by Reading (above p. 150), Malvern (*Polychron.*, VIII, 360) and Knighton (II, 116). On the strength of an inaccurate note by a herald of the seventeenth century (Nicolas, *Chronology of History,* p. 389), this second pestilence is usually said to have begun in England on 15 August, 1361, and to have lasted until 3 May, 1362. The date given for the outbreak in the text—July—is only a little less wide of the mark. Malvern says that the plague broke out about Easter (28 March) and Henry, duke of Lancaster, who died at Leicester five days earlier, is said to have been a victim. By 10 May it had made such ravages in London that the courts of law were prorogued for six weeks (*Fœdera,* III, 616).

The estimate, that two-thirds of the population died of the plague, is of course a great exaggeration. The same figure is given

for the mortality in the first visitation of 1348-9 in the Gloucester Register (quoted by Skeat, *Piers Plowman,* II, 64). For other estimates see above p. 245.

P. 213, l. 1. *in uxorem ducere . . . comitissam Cantiae.* The marriage of the Black Prince to his father's first cousin, Joan of Kent, is here wrongly dated. The 27 October, 1361, was a Wednesday, not a Sunday, and the marriage actually took place on Sunday, 10 October (Islip's Register, f. 180b, quoted by Beltz, *Memorials of the Order of the Garter,* p. 18). In the chronicler's anxiety to exculpate Islip for the solemnization of the union of such near relatives, who had already contracted a private marriage without a dispensation, which the pope ordered to be dissolved with appropriate penance, the feeling of the Canterbury monk seems to come out. According to the bull (*Foedera,* III, 626), the prince was godfather to only one of his wife's sons by her previous husband, Thomas Holland, usually said to have been the elder son, Thomas, second earl of Kent.

P. 213, l. 10 *De Magno Vento.* For the great wind of Saturday, 15 January, 1362, see note on Reading, above p. 293.

P. 214, l. 3. *prohibuit antiquam monetam florenorum.* This is a puzzling entry. A fresh indenture was made with the master of the mint in 1363, but, like the earlier ones of 1356 and 1361 and the later one of 1372, it seems to have introduced no monetary novelty, and in fact merely repeated, as they did, the terms of the indenture of 1351, by which the weight of the coinage was reduced (Ruding, *Annals of the Coinage,* ed. 1840, I, 226, 230; and see above p. 249). On the whole, it is most likely that we have here a misplaced and distorted account of the changes of 1351. Gold florins or nobles, at the rate of 6s. 8d. the noble and the smaller pieces in proportion, had been coined as early as 1344, they were merely reduced in weight in 1351, while the exchanges of London, Canterbury and York were already in existence in 1345 (Ruding, *op. cit.* II, 233). But the reference to the groat and half-groat seems to fix the date later, for the silver fourpenny and twopenny piece were first coined (in this reign) in 1351.

P. 214, l. 15. *placita in lingua Anglicana.* The use of the English language in the courts of law, instead of French, was ordered in the parliament which met on 13 October, 1362 (*Rot. Parl.,* II, 273). See also above p. 303.

P. 214, l. 20. *dux de Angeou.* Louis, duke of Anjou, was one

of the four princes of the *fleur de lis,* hostages in England, who concluded a treaty in November, 1362, arranging for their liberation on certain onerous conditions, to which king John assented. Until the performance of these conditions they were allowed to reside at Calais, and to leave it by special royal licence for not more than four days, on their promise to return to England if the treaty ultimately broke down. This promise was given in 15 May, 1363 (*Fœdera*, III, 700), but later in the summer Anjou escaped from Calais and refused to go back. According to our author, who, by the way, evidently had not heard that the four princes had all been removed to Calais, Anjou got away on the pretext of a hunting excursion. This sounds at least as probable as the French version of the story, according to which he obtained leave to make a pilgrimage to Nôtre-Dame at Boulogne, where he met his wife (*Chronographia Regum Francorum* (Soc. de l'Hist. de France), II, 298-9; cf. Froissart, ed. Luce, VI, xliv, note; and Delachenal, *Hist. de Charles V*, II, 347).

The Chronique des Quatre premiers Valois (p. 129) omits Calais altogether, and makes the duke escape from England in a vessel which he secretly procured.

Sir John Cobham was not captain of Calais, but the Christ Church chronicler was to a certain extent well-informed, for Cobham was sent to Calais on 15 May, 1363, to take charge of the hostages (*Fœdera,* III, 701). As a Kentish knight, his movements would be likely to reach the ears of the monks at Canterbury.

P. 215, l. 10. *tenens festum [Nativitatis Domini] apud Boloniam.* Froissart (VI, 94) makes king John spend Christmas at Hesdin, on his way to Boulogne, and he was certainly there as late as the 23 December (Delachenal, *op. cit.* II, 348).

P. 215, l. 11. *applicuit Dovorram in vigilia Epiphaniae Domini.* This puts John's landing a day later than is done by the author of the Grandes Chroniques (ed. Paulin Paris, VI, 228) and by Froissart (VI, 95), who agree upon Thursday, 4 January. The king's itinerary in the text, as far as Ospringe, is as follows, taking *in ipsa* to refer to the day of the Epiphany.

Friday, 5 January. Arrives at Dover.
Saturday, 6 January. Dover.
Sunday, 7 January. Arrives at Canterbury in the afternoon.
Monday, 8 January. Canterbury.
Tuesday, 9 January. Canterbury.
Wednesday, 10 January. Proceeds to Ospringe.

Up to this point Froissart, though without precise dates, seems in general agreement, and the Grandes Chroniques are probably

wrong in making John stay three or four days at Dover. As to his movements beyond Ospringe, however, the text is ambiguous. The sentence " Die autem Jovis continuando dietas suas venit Londonias" would probably, at first sight, be read to mean that London was reached on the Thursday. But we know, from the Grandes Chroniques, that John did not enter London until Sunday, 14 January (Fabyan's 24 January (ed. Ellis, p. 475), is an obvious slip). Moreover, he moved slowly, covering only the eight miles from Canterbury to Ospringe on the Wednesday, and Ospringe is forty-seven miles from London. If we have the text as the author wrote it, we must suppose that what he meant was that the king left Ospringe on Thursday on his way to London, a conjecture supported by the phrase "continuing his day's marches." But the construction is awkward, and the fact that Cotton MS., Julius B. III, reads " et dehinc " instead of " Die autem Jovis," thus removing the whole difficulty, suggests another explanation. This is just the point where the scribe of the Lambeth MS. resumed copying after omitting everything between a Wednesday in 1357 and a Wednesday in 1364 (see above p. 72, and the facsimile, p. 187). It is possible that he ran on carelessly " On Thursday " where his original had simply "And thence."

P. 215, l. 16. *episcopi Ambianensis,* etc. The other authorities do not give any list of the personnel of the king's retinue. The dukes of Orleans and Berry were hostages for the treaty of Brétigny and had perhaps just come over from Calais, where they had been allowed to reside (with the duke of Bourbon and the duke of Anjou until his escape) pending the performance of the conditions of their treaty with Edward III, concluded in November, 1362 (above p. 366).

The bishop of Amiens was Jean de Cherchemont (1325-1373), the [grand] prior of the order of St. John of Jerusalem in France was presumably Robert de Juillac or Juilly, who succeeded Jean de Duison in 1363, and became grand master of the whole order in 1374 (Mas-Latrie, *Trésor de Chronologie,* cols. 2,208, 2,212). I am unable to identify 'the elect of Cluny.' There was no vacancy in the abbacy of Cluny at this date. Perhaps the cardinal of Cluny is meant (see above p. 296).

P. 216, l. 3. *propter solutionem millenae* (?), etc. John was anxious to obtain some modification of the onerous conditions of the treaty of November, 1362, and so to secure the liberation of the three princes of the fleur de lis, who were still in Edward's hands (see last note). In the treaty they had promised payment of 200,000 florins by a certain date, and on 12 February John paid 107,000 gold crowns on account (*Fœdera,* III, 721), He may very

well have wished, as Froissart says, to make personal excuses for the duke of Anjou's treachery, for it endangered the whole treaty; but there was no question, of course, of his returning as a hostage himself.

P. 216, l. 22. *circa noctem.* "Au soir environ mienuit" (*Grandes Chroniques,* VI, 229).

P. 217, l. 1. *ad ecclesiam Pauli Londoniensis.* It is implied, but not directly stated, that the funeral service of king John of France in St. Paul's took place on Thursday, 18 April, ten days after his death. The late king's retinue left London with the body for Dover the same evening. This seems to be confirmed by the payment on the 18th of £6. 13s. 4d. to Sir Nicholas Dammory, for the safe-conduct of the remains to Canterbury and Dover (Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer,* p. 183). On the 19th 6s. 8d. was paid for an oblation of the king at St. Paul's, 'on the day of the exequies of John' (*ibid.*).

P. 217, l. 8. *eodem die apud Derteforde,* etc. Dartford is 15 miles from London. On Friday, 19 April, again by night (if the second *de nocte* is not intrusive), the body was borne to Newington, a stage of 22 miles. If Newington was not reached until Saturday morning, the cortége could hardly have arrived at Canterbury, 18 miles further on, until the afternoon. The body was carried to the cathedral with a solemn procession of the prior and chapter (the author perhaps among them) and the clergy and people of the city. The office for the dead was then said and next day, Sunday, after high mass had been celebrated by the bishop of Amiens, the procession proceeded to Dover.

P. 217, l. 25. *die Lunae in festo Sancti Johannis ante Portam Latinam.* This date—Monday, 6 May—is a day too early. John was buried at St. Denis on Tuesday, the 7th (*Grandes Chroniques,* VI, 231). But, as it was on the Monday that his remains were borne in solemn procession from Paris to St. Denis, the mistake is not unnatural in an English chronicle.

P. 218, l. 1. *in festo Sanctae Trinitatis.* Sunday, 19 May, Trinity Sunday, was the day of Charles V's coronation (*Grandes Chroniques,* VI, 233).

P. 218, l. 18. *Oray in Britannia.* The battle of Auray, which closed the war in Brittany, was fought, as stated in the text, on Michaelmas day, Sunday, 29 September, 1364 (*Grandes Chroniques,* VI, 235). The official or semi-official list of the Franco-Breton

casualties, here given, does not seem to have been preserved by any other chronicler, though Reading mentions a few names (above p. 162). As far as he goes, he enables us to distinguish the prisoners from the slain in the mixed list of the Canterbury monk. Of names not dealt with in the notes to the text Reading's Broucourt and Mount Hynay can be clearly identified with the Brucort and J. de Montenay of the fuller list. Matigneton and Mountabban (Montauban) occur only in Reading's list.

P. 220, l. 9. *Dovorram [venit] Ludovicus, comes Flandriae.* This is the fullest account we have of the culminating point in the bold stroke by which Edward III nearly secured for his son Edmund the great inheritance, in the Low Countries and the county of Burgundy, of Margaret, daughter and heiress of Louis, count of Flanders, and widow of Philip de Rouvres, duke of Burgundy (d. 1361). The progress of the negotiations, which began in 1362, is traced by Otto Cartellieri (*Philip der Kühne,* App., pp. 115-6), and by Mr. Armitage-Smith (*John of Gaunt,* pp. 29-30; cf. also Pirenne, *Hist. de Belgique,* II, 174-5). Count Louis finally came to England, and on 19 October, 1364, signed the treaty of marriage at Dover (*Fœdera,* III, 750). Nothing further seems to have been known, hitherto, of his movements during this visit. The daily record of his doings, from his landing on Saturday, 12 October, to his departure after breakfast on Sunday, the 20th, which our chronicler has preserved, is therefore of some interest. It will be observed that he did not miss the opportunity of making a pilgrimage to the famous shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury. The mission of bishop Sudbury with the duke of Lancaster and the intended bridegroom who, according to the text, left Dover for Flanders on 28 October, does not seem to be noticed elsewhere. The marriage had been arranged to take place in the first week of February, 1365—Thursday, the 6th, according to the Christ Church writer. But, on 18 December, 1364, pope Urban V, at the instigation of Charles V of France, refused to grant a dispensation for a union within the prohibited degrees (*Fœdera,* III, 758). Edward III did not, however, accept defeat at once, and negotiations were not entirely abandoned until 1367, when Urban released Edmund and Margaret from any obligations into which they had entered and authorised them to marry elsewhere. As is well known, Margaret became the wife of Philip, duke of Burgundy, brother of Charles V, in 1369.

P. 220, l. 11. *cum multis nobilibus de magnatibus Flandriae.* The Issue Rolls under 31 June, 1365, record the payment of Thomas

Hessey, goldsmith, for many cups and other silver plate delivered of the king's gift at Dover, to divers knights and others coming there in the retinue of the count of Flanders (Devon, *Issues*, pp. 185-6). Among them were Louis de Nemours, the constable of Flanders, and Godfrey of Delft.

P. 222, l. 1. *in pleno parliamento ordinato.* It is not true that the creation of the Black Prince, as prince of Aquitaine, was made in full parliament. He was created by letters patent dated 19 July, 1362 (*Fœdera,* III, 667). Parliament did not meet until 13 October in that year.

P. 222, l. 10. *die Apostolorum Petri et Pauli.* The prince sailed in February, 1363 (see above p. 300), but he went first to Poitou, and the date in the text—29 June—seems likely to be the correct day of his landing at Lormont, on the right bank of the Garonne, below Bordeaux. He began to receive the homage of the Gascon vassals in the cathedral of Bordeaux on 9 July (Moisant, *Le Prince Noir en Aquitaine,* p. 77).

P. 222, l. 19. *Edwardus primogenitus Edwardi principis.* See above p. 324.

P. 223, l. 9. *ex hac prima causa alligationis sanguinis.* For the appeal of Peter the Cruel and his supporters to the descent of Edward III and the Black Prince from Eleanor of Castile, see above p 172.

P. 223, l. 20. *dictum principem heredem suum fieri voluit.* This offer (if actually made) was more definite than Reading represents (p. 172).

P. 224, l. 9. *fere per duo miliaria a dicto principe.* This is an underestimate. Najera is nearly nine miles from Navarrete.

P. 224, l. 21. *Jenetoriis,* etc. See above p. 352.

P. 224, l. 24. *apud Avinionem ad papam.* This is a mistake. The pope left Avignon on 30 April for Marseilles on his way to Rome, and enough is known of Henry's movements after Najera to make it impossible that he can have had an interview with Urban.

P. 224, l. 28. *versus Burges . . . ubi adinvicem nunc morantur.* The Black Prince and king Peter left Najera for Burgos on Monday, 5 April. According to Chandos Herald (l. 3,605) the prince reached Burgos " after the end of six days," but it is not clear whether

six days after the arrival of Peter, who had preceded him from Briviesca, or six days from leaving Najera is meant. Ayala says that the prince arrived at Burgos two days after the king (*ibid.* note, p. 216). His stay there is estimated to have lasted a full month (*ibid.* ll. 3,606-7). He removed his quarters in May to Valladolid and its neighbourhood. The Christ Church monk, who wrote this chronicle, either had not heard of this change when he penned his description of the campaign of Najera, or he must have been following a letter written from Spain within a month or so of the battle.

P. 225, l. 1. *Nomina dominorum et comitum,* etc. This is a slightly more correct copy of the list given by Reading (above p. 183), which must have had an official or semi-official origin. For fuller identifications of the names see the footnotes to Reading's copy.

INDEX.

Incorrect or doubtful statements in the two chronicles are occasionally indexed with a query attached. In other cases the correction will be found in the notes to which references are given.

M

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